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**SAINT NECTARIOS OF PENTAPOLIS'
LIFE AND WORKS:
A HISTORICAL - CRITICAL STUDY**

BY

P. M. K. Strongylis
(Graduate of Theology of the University of Athens)

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MA Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of Arts
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1994



28 OCT 1994

To my Spiritual Father

Rev. Dr. GEORGE S. VAYANOS,

in gratitude

**for he inspired me with the idea of realizing
postgraduate studies in England**

ABSTRACT

The present study sketches the life, the thought and the work of Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis. It is divided into six chapters. The first comprises the Saint's childhood years in Selybria, the continuation of his high-school studies in Constantinople, his journey to Chios where he served as a primary school teacher, was tonsured as a monk and ordained to the Diaconate, as well as his study at the Theological School in Athens.

The second chapter refers to the entrance of Saint Nectarios as deacon to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, his ordination as a presbyter and Metropolitan of Pentapolis, and his five-year fruitful contribution to the Greek Orthodox Community of Cairo, closing with his expulsion from Egypt and his returning to Greece.

The third chapter includes the trials which Saint Nectarios underwent during the first period of his stay in Athens, his appointment as the Itinerant Sacred Preacher in the Province of Euboea, his activities there, as well as his transfer into the same position in the Province of Phthiotis-Phokis and his wanderings in this Province.

The fourth chapter deals with the appointment of Saint Nectarios as the Dean of Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary, his pedagogical work, the rich extra-curricular activity and his resignation from his Seminary duties.

The fifth chapter gives reasons for Saint Nectarios' claims for re-establishment of the Monastery of Zoodochos Pege in Aegina, his personal work in erecting the monastery, his benevolent deeds towards the islanders of Aegina, his last trials and concluding with his illness and dormition.

The sixth chapter includes the period from Saint Nectarios dormition to the recognition of his sanctity by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. It starts with the presentation of the Saint's will, the translations of his relics, his canonization and the feast and celebration which took place for its cause.

At the end of each chapter there is a brief presentation of the theological treatises which the Saint wrote, and the correspondence which he maintained during each one period of his life and ministry. In addition, I present an extensive anthology from them on diverse topics in my bibliography, in chronological order. The list of his writings is the most complete and systematic presently available.

There are, finally, two appendices to the present thesis consisting of a) seven previously unpublished interviews with eyewitnesses who met and spoke with Saint Nectarios, which refer to his whole life, and reveal unknown aspects of his life, personality and activities, and b) a catalogue of churches and benevolent foundations dedicated to the memory of Saint Nectarios throughout the world.



ABBREVIATIONS

E.L.I.A. Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο (E.L.I.A.:
Association of Greek Literary and Historic Archive)

E.K.A. Ελληνική Κοινότης Αλεξανδρείας (Greek Community of
Alexandria)

E.K.K. Ελληνορθόδοξος Κοινότης Καΐρου (Greek Orthodox
Community of Cairo)

Θ.Η.Ε. Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία (Religious and
Ethical Encyclopedia)

A.Y.E. Ιστορικό Αρχείο Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών (Archives of the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece)

E.I.E. Ελληνική Ιστορική Εταιρεία (Greek Historic Association)

P.E.S. Ριζάρειος Εκκλησιαστική Σχολή (Rizareios
Ecclesiastical Seminary)

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PREFACE

On 20 April 1961 the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople officially proclaimed the sanctity of the venerable Father Nectarios D. Kephalas, Metropolitan of Pentapolis. This official recognition was the seal of approval of the great love and deep respect of Orthodox Christians towards the Hierarch who, after his death, continues to make his presence noticeable to many people by his innumerable miracles.

I was fifteen years old when I entered the Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary and heard the elder seminarians talking with great respect and awe about the bright personality of the former principal, the Metropolitan Nectarios of Pentapolis. He had offered his valuable services for fourteen consecutive years in training future leaders of the Eastern Orthodox Church. I was particularly impressed by the fact that, even though eighty-five years had already passed since Saint Nectarios had resigned from the administrative work of the Seminary, his presence there was still alive. All these reasons mentioned beforehand prompted me to undertake research on the life and works of this recently canonized Hierarch.

The present thesis is the fruit of nine years' investigation on the subject. My aim is to present unknown biographical elements as objectively as possible, through which the personality and theological contribution of this modern Father of the Church may be fully appreciated. It is chiefly with the hope of original biographical and theological account of the evidence on the life and works of this Great Orthodox Saint of our century, that the present treatise has been written.

Fr. Kleopas Strongylis - Monferatos

February 22, 1994

Boston, Massachusetts

INTRODUCTION

In 1961, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued an encyclical proclaiming Nectarios Kephalas, Metropolitan of Pentapolis to be a Saint of the Church. Before this official proclamation of sainthood, the faithful people of God recognized him as a holy man, and this spiritual reality was deeply ingrained in their hearts and consciousness.

In just a few years after this official recognition, Saint Nectarios became widely known throughout Greece and the entire Orthodox world. In fact, hundreds of churches and chapels have been built in his honor, and continue to be built wherever Greek Orthodox faithful are to be found. Moreover, the miracles, which began with his early youth and continued throughout his life and after his death on November 8, 1920, have clearly intensified since 1961, as more and more of the faithful have turned to Saint Nectarios for his intercessory prayers at times of serious illness.

It was my mother who spoke to me first with great enthusiasm about the miraculous Saint of Aegina. When I entered Rizareios Seminary, I wanted to become more familiar with his life. A paper I wrote in my Pastoral Care class at the Theological School of Athens, helped me to become acquainted with the character and thinking of this contemporary Saint of the Church. I was very impressed with his ministry in the Patriarchate of Alexandria; especially with the way he understood and handled his expulsion from Egypt. Also, I admired the attitude he adopted towards the injustice of his colleagues, and his spiritual behavior during his trials.

From what I had read I believed that his biography was not complete. Therefore, guided by the most important biography of the Saint, written by Metropolitan Titos (Matthaiakis) of Paramythia and Saint's Letters that were found and published by Matthaiakis, I began research in the files and records of various Libraries and Archives of Athens. It must be said that I am referring to the Archives and the Library of Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary; the Archives of the newspaper "Εὐρύτως," which gives us valuable information concerning the spiritual work of Saint Nectarios in Euboea; the Archives of the Dioceses of Chalkis, Phthiotis and

Phokis; the personal Library and the Archive of Saint Nectarios at his Convent in Aegina; the Association of Greek Literary and Historic Archives ('Εταιρεία Ελληνικού Λογοτεχνικού Ιστορικού Αρχείου Ε.Λ.Ι.Α.) in Athens, with the richest collection ever assembled in Greece of the above material and period; the Archives of Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens, which contains the reports of Greek Ambassadors and Consuls to their Minister, archive-material belonging to Hellenic Communities and Patriarchate and Hellenic Associations etc.

I also had the opportunity to visit many places in which Saint Nectarios had preached and worked. I searched the Archives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Archives and Libraries of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Alexandria and Cairo, the Archives and the Library at the Archdiocese of Sinai in Mount Sinai, the Archives of the Hellenic Community of Alexandria and Cairo; the Consular Archives in Egypt, the Archive-Library of the late Evgenius Michaelides, now entitled: Museum of Greeks in Alexandria. The product of persistent nine-years effort and research in the above mentioned Archives and Libraries was the discovery of sufficient unpublished authentic material, which I will present in the this study.

Today, in Egypt are found the archives of the two largest Greek Communities, those of Alexandria and Cairo. In these two archives are also deposited the archives of smaller communities, which are equally important and which have dissolved. Such are the communities of Mansoura, Tanta, Simbin el Kom, Zagazik, Mechala Kempir and others. The most important section of the archive of EKA is deposited in E.L.I.A. (Athens), while a large section of the same archive was microfilmed in 1978-80 and is the property of the Academy of Athens (Research Center for the History of Modern Hellenism). Also, in Egypt a researcher must consider the possibility of the existence of material in the archives of EKA in the library of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in the Cultural Community Museum of Alexandria - the Michailides Collection (Consulate General of Alexandria), in the library of Middle Schools of EKA, in the library of Ambetios School (Cairo), in the library of St. Catherine of Sinai Monastery Dependency (Daher-Cairo), in the library of St. Catherine of Sinai Monastery itself, and in the library

of St. George's Monastery (Old Cairo). At this point it must be stressed that the Cultural Community Museum in Alexandria was established with the personal library and collection of the late professor Evgenios Michailides who donated it to the Greek public. Michailides, who is considered the bibliographer of the Greeks in Egypt, listed in two massive volumes books, periodicals, newspapers and any publications printed in Egypt. We are referring to the *Βιβλιογραφία τῶν Ἑλλήνων Αἰγυπτιωτῶν* (1853–1966), and to *Πανόραμα, ἡτοι εἰκονογραφημένη ιστορία τοῦ Δημοσιογραφικοῦ Τύπου τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπό Αἰγυπτιωτῶν Ἑλλήνων* (1862–1972). It must be stressed that family (private, etc.) archives are in the hands of individuals, mostly in Greece and, today, less so in Egypt. It is a sad fact, however, that many of the archives relating to their enterprises which would have been useful to us today have been either sold or destroyed.

A product of my research was also the correspondence which was exchanged between Saint Nectarios and the Brotherhood of the Monastery of Grottaferrata in Rome, Italy. Having the permission and the help of the Librarian of Grottaferrata, Hieromonk Fr. Emiliiano and of Fr. Giuseppe M. Crose, I discovered six unpublished letters exchanged between Nectarios and the Abbot Arsenios of Grottaferrata, which I published in the periodical "Orthodox Herald" of London.

The present study sketches the life, the thought and the work of Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis. I cite the most important dates and events in the Saint's ministry, note his main traits of character, and call attention to his holy way of life, and to the manifold and widespread influence which he has exerted.

What will come out of these pages is not simply an informative contribution about the unknown aspects of the Saint's ministry, but light will also be shed on his life, and also we are taught just how and why Saint Nectarios pleased God, and the manner in which he struggled and resolved the many problems he faced throughout his life-time. Imitating and following his example of the true spiritual power that he received in a spirit of personal humility with an absolute trust in God, will help those who are involved in the Church's administration to avoid the mistakes of the past.

PART ONE: THE FIRST GROWTH (1846-1885)

1. Childhood Years in Selybria

Saint Nectarios, Metropolitan of Pentapolis of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, known in the world as Anastasios Kephalas, was born on the 1st of October 1846 in Selybria in Eastern Thrace.¹ His parents, were called Demosthenes and Vasilike and he had three brothers and three sisters, Demetrios, Gregorios, Charalambos, Smaragda, Sevaste, and Mariora.²

The birthplace of Saint Nectarios, Selybria, is found on the Thracian side of Propontis, near Constantinople. At that time Selybria had 8000 citizens. There were four neighborhoods, one Greek Orthodox, one Armenian, one Jewish and one Turkish. The last of these was outside the walls of the city. The citizens were occupied in merchandise, agriculture, vine-growing, cattle-raising, dairy-farming, navigation and fishing.³

From the ecclesiastical point of view, Selybria had a resident Metropolitan and several parish churches, as Saint Spyridon in the cemetery, the Cathedral church of Panaghia Selybrine, the Panaghia of the Dormition, etc.. The last one was Saint Nectarios' parish, and was to be found close to a fountain, Davarni-Chesme, but there was not a Liturgy every Sunday. Three large pilgrimages existed in

¹The date and Saint Nectarios' birthplace is witnessed to by the documents of his studies, the certificates of his ordinations which have been saved in his personal archives, in the Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)' (Athens, 1985) 40].

²Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μελέτη περί τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ περί ιερῶν μνημοσύνων* (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1972) 4; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)' (Athens, 1985) 108-109.

³These data were gathered in Thessalonica by an interview with the Selybrians, Mrs. Elisabeth Nikolaidou on 5th September 1991, and Mr. Yiasemis Apostolidis on 6th September 1991. It is remarkable that both of them were familiar with the Saint's family in Selybria. See also the appendix of the present dissertation, "Interview with Eye-Witnesses."

Selybria, for Panaghia Selybrine, for Blessed Xene⁴, and for Saint Agathonikos. On the 8th of September, the Nativity of the Theotokos, the Selybrians celebrated the feast of Panaghia Selybrine, during which a famous religious and commercial festival took place, lasting eight days. A great number of pilgrims thronged together there, from all over Thrace and Constantinople, mostly from the villages surrounding Selybria and from the towns Epivates, Xastero, Yalous and Economio. According to the tradition, the icon of Panaghia, painted by the Evangelist Luke, was transferred from the Holy Wisdom church (Aghia Sophia) in Constantinople to Selybria after the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders. It was painted on both sides. The facade represents the enthroned Virgin Mary holding Christ in her arms, and the back represents the Nativity of the Theotokos. After the Asia Minor disaster (1922), this icon, together with the bodies of Saint Xeni and Saint Agathonikos were transferred to Greece and placed in the city of Kavala, in the Cathedral church of Saint John-the-Forerunner.⁵

⁴ The Blessed Xeni was patron of the city of Mylasa in Asia Minor. Her relics had been preserved for 900 years in the city of Mylasa in a convent which was founded by Blessed Xeni. Later the relics were transferred to Selybria. In August 1904 the headmaster of the school of Mylasa, called "The Blessed Xeni," G. A. Koukoulis, visited Saint Nectarios in his office in Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary, communicating the desire of the Christian committee of Mylasa to acquire a section of the relics of the Blessed Xeni. Saint Nectarios recommended him to write to Anastasios Stamoulis, a notable person of Selybria, asking information about the relics. Metropolitan Nectarios promised to help with the donation of the relics. Truly, after the efforts which were made, Metropolitan Dionysios of Selybria by the order of the Ecumenical Patriarch, gave to the committee of the Mylasans a section of Blessed Xeni's relics, in January 1906. In a publication of the event Mylasans praised Metropolitan Nectarios for his intervention with the following words: "In the first class of the protagonists for the donation is His Eminence the Holy one of Pentapolis, Mgr. Nectarios Kephalas who is of great value for the nation, the Holy Church, and especially his fellow-citizens" ["Τά περί τοῦ ιεροῦ λειψάνου τῆς Ὁσίας Ξένης τῆς πολιούχου πόλεως Μυλασσῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς Καρίας ἀγρύπνου φρουροῦ," Ξενοφάνης (Athens) 1 (1906) 334]. This event bears witness to the love and association which Saint Nectarios had maintained with the citizens of his birthplace, although 45 years had passed since he definitely departed from there.

⁵ See ~~and~~ note number 3.

As far as education in Selybria at that time is concerned, we should note the following: Selybria already from 1799 had two schools, a seminary, founded and financed by Metropolitan Kallinikos of Selybria, and an ordinary school financed by the governor of Vlachia, Alexander Mourouzis. Later, in 1849, a school for girls and a library were created, which made Selybria the center of spiritual excellence. During this period, when Anastasios lived in Selybria (1846-1860), only a school for young children was active, equivalent to the present day elementary school, and the girls' school equivalent to today's two first classes of the Gymnasium. Any youth at that time who wanted to continue higher studies had to be transferred to the nearest city, Epivates or Constantinople.⁶

Anastasios lived in Selybria for fourteen years of his life.⁷ He received his earliest education there. During his childhood he was brought up "in the wisdom of the Lord" by his devout parents, who, although poorly educated according to secular standards, had a rich Christian heart, and a exemplary life of virtue. His mother Vasilike, taught him salvation stories from Holy Scripture, and how to sing ecclesiastical hymns. Anastasios knew David's moving and edifying psalm of repentance (Ps. 51) by heart, and often recited it. When ever he reached the point which says: "I will teach Your ways to the lawless and the wicked will return to you," he interrupted the reciting of the psalm and repeated the same verse many times, thus indicating his divine call for mission from that

⁶ibid.

⁷Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστου Πατρός ἡμῶν καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 8. Cf. G. Dragas, "A Contemporary Greek Saint - Saint Nektarios 1846-1920," *Mount Carmel* (England) 27 (1979) 16, and C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1988) 11.

very early age.⁸ As it turned out he did become a missionary and a preacher of the Gospel, and returned many people to the Christian life by his teaching.

2. The Arrival and Stay in Constantinople

The young Anastasios was sensible, prudent, mild, sober, obedient to his parents, and had ardent desire in his heart compelling him to study the sacred science of theology. Since he was unable to fulfill these desires in his birthplace, he graduated from the elementary school, and with the moral and financial support of his family⁹ went to Constantinople in pursuit of higher studies.

Anastasios' departure from his birthplace on 1860 was confirmed by what seemed to him to be a miracle. As a result of his anxiety to leave by the first ship for Constantinople, he did not bring the exact amount for his fare. Because of this, the ship's captain prohibited Anastasios from embarking. The young boy stayed ashore quite depressed as he looked for a while at the ship which was about to leave. For some unknown reason the ship could not move. Only after the captain had signaled to Anastasios to

⁸J. Timagenis, "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Ἐπίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως ὁ Θαυματουργός – Βίος καὶ πολιτεία – Θαύματα – Ασματική ἀκολουθία – Παρακλητικός κανών (Athens, Undated) 17.

⁹Saint Nectarios' relatives and those who knew his domestic situation supported the statement that at that time the young Anastasios went to Constantinople with the full moral and financial support of his wealthy family. Alternatively, a section of his biographers say that Anastasios went to Constantinople to work and help his family [Rev. S. Papagathangelou, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Αἰγίνης ὁ Θαυματουργός (Cyprus, 1986) 15-19. Cf. Archim. H. Vasilopoulos, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος (Athens, 1987) 10; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 16; S. Hondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – Ο "Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης, 1973) 36; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τὸν "Άγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τὸν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 17]. I accept the opinion of Nectarios' relatives as correct for the reason that they knew him better than his biographers, who try perhaps here to present the Saint as a hero, in order to impress their readers.

return to the ship did the sail become effective and the ship moved. This first "miracle" was followed by another. During the voyage a sea storm arose and the ship became endangered. Instinctively, Anastasios took off his silver cross with the wood of the True Cross in it, which had been a gift from his grandmother, attached the cross by the chain to his belt and signed the waters with the cross, in the Name of the Holy Trinity. By the third immersion the wind dropped and the sea became calm. The journey continued normally but Anastasios' cross had disappeared. Later on, a strong tapping came from the keel of the ship. When the expert followed through his investigation, he explained to the captain that a small cross was glued at the place in which the tapping had been heard. It was Anastasios' cross, which he wore through the whole of his earthly life.¹⁰

When Anastasios came to Constantinople (1860) he was introduced to the School of the Holy Sepulchre in the Phanar, whose headmaster was his uncle Alexander Triantaphyllides. Anastasios attended lessons of high school level and also taught in classes of elementary level at the School of the Sepulchre.¹¹ As the level of learning and progress, he devoted his spare time in systematic study at the library of the above school, which was considered as one of the best in Constantinople.¹² In that library he studied the writings of the Greek Fathers of the Church and the ancient Greek

¹⁰Rev. S. Papagathangelou, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Αιγίνης ὁ Θαυματουργός (Cyprus, 1986) 15-19. Cf. Archim. H. Vasilopoulos, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος (Athens, 1987) 17-18; D. Panagopoulos, Οὐδέν ἀνίστον διά τὸν "Άγιον Νεκτάριον (Athens, 1987) 55-56.

¹¹Archim. Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ο Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 12 (November 27, 1920) 953. Cf. Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Οσίοις ἀειμνήστον Πατρός ἡμῶν καὶ Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 9; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 19.

¹²V. Stavrides, *Ιστορία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου 1453 – σήμερον* (Thessaloniki, 1987) 130.

Classics and stored up these treasures which were best in his opinion. The fruit of that early study was the publication, in Athens, on 1895-96, of a two volume work which was entitled *Treasure of sacred and philosophical savings*.¹³ This valuable work indicates his powerful inclination in the depths of his being for God and thirst for the life of perfection in Christ.¹⁴

As Anastasios wanted to lighten the burden of his personal expenses which were on his family, during the same period he worked as a clerk-assistant in a tobacco shop.¹⁵ It is quite possible that he combined his studies with that job, as the prologue of the above-mentioned publication, leads us to conclude. The following extract from the "Memorandum to the Readers" (ὑπόμνημα τοιδέντευξομένοις) is particularly revealing conclude:

The work on hand is the product of a long and systematic study and is due to an ardent desire, which grew up prematurely, to transmit beneficial knowledge.

¹³The "Memorandum to the Readers" is the following:

"Τό άνά χείρας ἔργον είναι προϊόν μακράς καὶ συντόνου ἐργασίας καὶ ὀφείλεται εἰς πόθον διακαή προώρως ἀναπτυχθέντα πρός μετάδοσιν ὀφελίμων γνώσεων· διότι πρόσηβος ἥδη τὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου τῆς κοινωνίας ἐζήλωσα ἔργον, καὶ πρός αὐτό μετά προθυμίας ἐπεδόθην. Τό ἔργον ὅμως πολύ τοῦ ζήλου ἢν ύπερτερον, διά τὴν ἐμήν ἀνεπαρκή πρός τὸ ἔργον παρασκευήν· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἢν ισχυρά καὶ ἐπίμονος. Πρός πλήρωσιν αὐτῆς ἔγνων νά ὀφεληθῶ ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ τῶν προγόνων· οὐτος ἔκειτο πρόχειρος καὶ ὑπό τὴν διάθεσιν μου· ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ τούτου ἐδυνάμην νά θησαυρίσω· ἡ ἐργασία ἤρξατο, καὶ συλλογή τις πενιχρά ρητῶν, γνωμῶν καὶ ἀπόθεματων κατηρτίσθη· ἀλλά καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς μεταδόσεως διά τὴν ἔλλειψιν χρημάτων ἢν οὐχ ἥπτον δυσχερής· ἀλλά καὶ αὐθις εὔρον τά μέσα πρός ἄρσιν τοῦ κωλύματος. Ενόμισα ὅτι ἐδυνάμην νά χρησιμοποιήσω ὡς δημοσιογραφικά φύλλα τά χάρτινα καπνοσακκίδια τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινούπόλει Καπνοπωλῶν. Τό ἐπινόημα μοι ἐφάνη λυσιτελές καὶ εὐθύς τό σχέδιον ἐτέθη εἰς ἐνέργειαν. Ἐπί ίκανον ἀριθμοῦ τοιούτων φύλλων ἔγραφον καθ' ἐκάστην διάφορα ἐκ τῶν θησαυρισθέντων γνωμικῶν, ὅπως οἱ χρώμενοι τούτοις ἐκ περιεργείας ἀναγινώσκοντες τά γεγραμμένα διδάσκωνται τά σοφά καὶ ὀφέλιμα· αὕτη ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ἀρχή τοῦ ἀνάχειρας βιβλίου, καὶ τῷ πόθῳ τούτῳ ὀφείλεται."

[Metr. N. Kephalas, Ιερῶν καὶ Φιλοσοφικῶν Λογίων Θησαύρισμα (Vol. 1) (Athens: A. Καλλαράκη – N. Τριανταφύλλου, 1895) c].

¹⁴Protopresbyter S. Sarantos, "'Η πλούσια προσφορά τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου στήν Εκκλησία καὶ στήν Πολιτεία," *Κοινωνία* (Athens) 32 (April/June, 1989) 173.

¹⁵K. Stamatidis, *Oι Ἀγοι τῆς Αγίνας* (Athens, 1990) 83. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ὁρθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 16.

Although I was still a teenager, I was zealous for the work of the teacher of society, and gave myself over to this with great eagerness. That task, however, was much superior to my zeal, for I had not been adequately prepared for it; but my desire was strong and persistent. In order to fulfill it, I knew that I could benefit from the treasure of our ancestors, which was laid on hand and at my disposal; I could be enriched from that treasure. Thus the work began, and a poor collection of manner of transmission, due to lack of funds was no less difficult. I found, however, at once the manner for removing the obstacles. I thought that I could use the tobacco pouch of tobacconists of Constantinople as journalists' sheets of paper. The invention seems easy to me and at once the plan was put into effect. I wrote on a great number of such sheets each day varying treasured thoughts, so that the people who used these papers, read these written works from curiosity and were taught wise and beneficial things. That was the beginning of the work on hand, and the product of that desire.¹⁶

Several points of the above memorandum of Saint Nectarios, throw light in our study of his biography at that early period. It throws light on the fact that the main reason which urged Saint Nectarios to write the above-mentioned work was the desire which he had from an early age to transmit beneficial knowledge to his fellow-men. The word "teenager" (*πρόσηβος ηδη*) confirms that he was at his young age, namely the period which we are examining. In order to fulfill his desire, he used "the treasure of the ancestors" (*θησαυρός προγόνων*), which "was laid on hand and was at his disposal", points perhaps to the library of the school of the Holy Sepulchre, where the Saint found the works of the Greek Fathers and the writings of the ancient Greek Classic authors. That he wrote the apothegms and the sayings on "tobacco pouches of the

¹⁶See foot note number 13.

tobacconists of Constantinople" links this early publication to the period of his stay in Constantinople. The fact that, as he states, he wrote these sayings every day on a great number of tobacco pouches indirectly confirms the opinion of all the biographers of the Saint that he worked in a tobacconists' shop and wrote the sayings during his break time.¹⁷

3. Teacher in Lithi of Chios

The total residence of Anastasios in Constantinople lasted approximately six years, from the age of fourteen to twenty (1860-1866). Subsequently he went to the island of Chios in 1866. According to his biographers, the main reason which led him to choose Chios as the place of his stay was his inner desire to become a monk. Having a registered letter from his uncle Alexander Triantaphyllides, for the Metropolitan Gregorios (Pavlides) of Chios, Anastasios went to the Diocese of Chios. Metropolitan Gregory welcomed Anastasios and encouraged him to undertake duties as a teacher in the village of Lithi. His main work was to teach the students of the elementary school of the above village. In fact he did not limit himself only to teaching, but he also preached the Word of God in that area and offered counseling to the citizens of the village. Although he was very young, Anastasios developed a rich spiritual activity, which was greatly appreciated by the farmers of Lithi. Anastasios remained in this post for seven years (1866-1872).¹⁸

¹⁷S. Hondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – Ο "Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης, 1973) 44.

¹⁸G. Leventidis, "Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος και ή Χίος,""Ο Λαός (Chios) 29 (3. 4. 1982) 1. Cf. M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν"Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 και 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 17; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριοςό Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 22.

4. Monk and Deacon in Nea Moni of Chios

While teaching and preaching at Chios Anastasios began to redirect the center of his interest from education to monasticism. It seems that the regular visits which he paid to the Monastery of the Holy Fathers on Mount Provation in Chios contributed to this development.¹⁹ Particularly important were his spiritual discussions on monastic subjects with the founder of the Monastery, Monk Pachomios,²⁰ and his association with the brothers of the Monastery, which cultivated within him a love for the monastic ideal. In this way he acquired the ardent desire to enter the order of monks.

The contact of 27-year-old Anastasios with the spiritual father Pachomios, to whom he entrusted himself for spiritual guidance, his daily study of the texts of the Fathers of the Church, his conscientious participation in the liturgical prayer and mysteries of the Church, his intense effort to control and suppress passions and temptations, was sealed with his initiation as a novice monk²¹ in the Monastery of Porphyrogenetos, the Nea Moni of

¹⁹G. Leventidis, as above, p. 1. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 20; K. Stamatis, *Oι Άγιοι τῆς Αίγινας* (Athens, 1990) 83.

²⁰Saint Nectarios' spiritual relationship with the Monk Pachomios is mentioned in the remaining Catechetical Letters which the Saint sent to the Brotherhood of his Convent of Holy Trinity in Aegina: letter 26 of 23 September 1905; letter 27 of 24 September 1905, letter 28 of 27 September 1905, letter 30 of 14 October 1905, letter 34 of 1 November 1905, letter 35 of November 1905. These letters also explain the reason for the illness and death of the Monk Pachomios, whom the Saint called "a friend and guide at the beginning of his discipline" [B. Yannakopoulou, "'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως ἐπίστολαι πρός τὸν Γέροντα Παχώμιον." *Ἐφημέριος* (Athens) 41 (April 15 - May 1, 1992) 121-122].

²¹G. Leventidis, "'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος καὶ ή Χίος," *Ο Λαός* (Chios) 30 (5. 4. 1982) 1. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 20; G. Dragas, "A Contemporary Greek Saint - Saint Nektarios 1846-1920," *Mount Carmel* (England) 27 (1979) 17. Cf. also, C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (U.S.A., Undated) 120, 124.

Chios. Thus, the best combination was provided for the realization of Anastasios' inclination to devote himself to God and to receive God's sacred service.

The historical Nea Moni of Chios is to be found in the center of the island on Mount Provation, 13 Kilometers from the main town, whereas the Monastery of the Holy Fathers, where Monk Pachomios led a hermit life, is to be found in the southern part of the island. The history of the New Monastery stems from the middle of the eleventh century, when the Emperor Constantine the Gladiator was in exile to Lesvos. Three monks who lived as hermits in a cave of Mount Provation, Niketas, John and Joseph, led by the Theotokos, went to the exiled emperor and declared to him that he would return again to Constantinople as emperor. Constantine promised the monks that if their words were to come true, he would build for them a new monastery instead of the old one which they had built. The prophecy of the monks was fulfilled two years later, in 1042, and Constantine undertook the erection of the New Monastery. The building-work lasted twenty years and when the emperor died, was continued and completed by the Empress Theodora. The successive Turkish invasions repeatedly struck this splendid Byzantine ornament and an earthquake in 1881 caused serious damage to the complete structure of the building. The whole architectural work of the Katholikon of Nea Moni is an imitation of the octagonal system of the interior of the church of Saint Sergios and Saint Vacchos in Constantinople and the famous mosaic work which adorns it is a blend of Renaissance and Sacred Byzantine art, which came into being during the monumental Byzantine iconographic development of the Macedonian dynasty.²²

²²Axiotakis, A., 'H Néa Μονή τῆς Χίου (Chios, 1989) 11, 14-21, 33, 49.

Anastasios stayed at the New Monastery for three years as a subordinate monk.²³ Free from the cares of the world, he concentrated the powers of his soul in following the ascetic training of the abbot of the monastery, and observing the lengthy mystagogical services. In that way Anastasios could approach God and ask for His will. It is not an accident that Anastasios remained there for three complete years as a novice. He wished to be measured against his new obligations, to see whether the powers of his soul and body were constantly vigilant, and whether he could undertake the responsibilities of the angelic schema. He was well-aware that to be a monk means to be "an angel on earth." Exhausting all time limits for such a trial, as appointed by the Holy Fathers of the Church, Anastasios became a professed monk on the 7th of November 1876, taking the name of the Saint of the day, Blessed Lazaros.²⁴ By his tonsure, Lazaros was registered as a monk of the Monastery of Nea Moni and served as secretary.²⁵

Lazaros' excellent conduct, readiness to respond and blameless performance of duties impressed all who associated with him and especially of the Metropolitan Gregorios of Chios.²⁶ To

²³Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 20.

²⁴G. Leventidis, "Ο Όσιος Νεκτάριος Αιγίνης," *Ένορία* (Athens) 32 (10. 11. 1977) 235. Cf. also, Metr. Varnavas of Kitros, "Νεκτάριος ὁ Κεφαλᾶς. Μητροπολίτης Πλενταπόλεως. Όσιος," *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία* (Athens) (Vol. 9) (1966) 397-399; H. Papathanasiou, *Figures Saints* (Katerini: Tertios, 1989) 7. On 7th November the Orthodox Church honours the memory of "Our Blessed Father and miracle-worker Lazaros, who was an ascetic in Mount Galision" [*The Menaion of November*, (Vol. 9) (Athens: Φώς, 1980) 72].

²⁵J. Timagenis, "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Επίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως ὁ Θαυματουργός – Βίος καὶ πολιτεία – Θαύματα – Ασματική ἀκολουθία – Παρακλητικός κανών" (Athens, Undated) 22. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 24; M. Melinos, *μίλησα μέ τόν Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν* (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 18.

²⁶Gregorios Pavlides remained as Metropolitan of Chios during the years 1860 to 1877, and he was then removed to other Diocese. He died in 1888 at the age of 66 years. He wrote a great number of essays, on ecclesiastical, theological, historical, and hermeneutical themes. In 1878 the title of Honorary Doctor of the Theological School of

award Lazaros' dedication Bishop Gregorios ordained him deacon on the 15th of January 1877²⁷ in the Cathedral church of the Holy Martyrs, Menas, Victor and Vincent, renaming him Nectarios.²⁸ It is remarkable, as Saint Nectarios' biographers point out, that the date of his initiation into holy orders coincided with that of his initiation into the Christian Church, that is, the day of his baptism.²⁹

5. Completion of High School Studies

Nectarios remained at Nea Moni after his ordination for the same length of time as his novitiate, a total period of three years.

Athens, was awarded to him. He remained well-known as Gregory-The-Byzantine [Archim. Kostaridis, E., 'Η Σύγχρονος Ελληνική Εκκλησία – Αἱ ὑπηρεσίαι τῆς Εκκλησίας πρός τὸ "Εθνος κατά τὴν λήξαν ἐκαπονταετηρίδα 1821–1921 (Athens, 1921) 410; K. Ch., "Γρηγόριος ὁ Παυλίδης," Θρησκευτική καὶ Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια 4 (1964) 806].

27 J. Timagenis, "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Επίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως ὁ Θαυματουργός – Βίος καὶ πολιτεία – Θαύματα – Ασματική ἀκολουθία – Παρακλητικός κανών (Athens, Undated) 22. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ὁρθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 24; G. Dragas, "A Contemporary Greek Saint - Saint Nektarios 1846-1920," *Mount Carmel* (England) 27 (1979) 17.

28 Saint Nectarios at his ordination to the diaconate took the name of Saint Nectarios, Patriarch of Constantinople, whose memorial is celebrated on 11th October. He was elected Archbishop of Constantinople after the retirement of Saint Gregory of Naziansus, a little after the calling of the Second Ecumenical Synod (A.D. 381) of which he was president. On him was bestowed the Symbol of Faith, and the four Canons of the Synod. Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis probably wrote the hymns for the feast of Patriarch Nectarios, as witnessed to in his Catechetical Letter of 8th October 1907. That Saint Nectarios Kephalas celebrated his name-day on 11th October, is witnessed to again in his following Catechetical Letters: letter 30 of 14 October 1905, letter 71 of 13 October 1906, letter 114 of 16 October 1907 [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Επιστολαὶ πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 86, 154, 220-221. Cf. also, Th. Zesis, "Η Β' Οἰκουμενική Σύνοδος καὶ ἡ τριάς τῶν Προέδρων αὐτῆς – Μελέτιος Αντιοχείας, Γρηγόριος Θεολόγος, Νεκτάριος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," 'Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς 'Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessaloniki) (Vol. 26) (1981) 447-460].

29 Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Οσίοις ἀειμνήστου Πατρός ἡμῶν καὶ Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος (Athens, 1929) 9. Cf. also, J. Timagenis, "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Επίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως ὁ Θαυματουργός – Βίος καὶ πολιτεία – Θαύματα – Ασματική ἀκολουθία – Παρακλητικός κανών (Athens, Undated) 22; G. Dragas, "A Contemporary Greek Saint - Saint Nektarios 1846-1920," *Mount Carmel* (England) 27 (1979) 17.*

According to some biographers, he subsequently went to Athens³⁰, though others believe he went to Chora, the island's capital³¹, to complete his high school studies.

The only surveying witness to this, is an article by one of Saint Nectarios' pupils at Chios, Protopresbyter John Neamonitakis, entitled "Saint Nectarios, Bishop of Pentapolis," which reports that:

Saint Nectarios, Bishop of Pentapolis, was my first teacher at Chios in the year 1879. I remember him as a simple rasophore Nectarios Kephalas of Nea Moni in Chios, ascetic and devout, radiant with the holiness of his life and the zeal of a true Christian. The love of learning briefly led him to further studies in the capital (Χώρα) of the island. There he graduated from the Gymnasium.³²

The new element that one gathers from the above extract is that Deacon Nectarios continued his teaching, even after his ordination. At the same time he completed his high school studies during 1879-1881.³³ The young Deacon applied himself to his

³⁰S. Makris, "Νεκτάριος Πενταπόλεως – 'Ο Αγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – Εύσεβεῖς τιμαί καὶ ἀσεβεῖς βλασφημίαι," *'Ενορία* (Athens) 31 (10.9.1976) 187. Cf. also, S. Kementzentidis, ὁ Γέρων Φιλόθεος Ζερβάκος ('Ο ούρανοδρόμος ὁδοιπόρος) 1884-1980: Αὐτοβιογραφία – Περιστασιακά όμιλά – Συγγραφικά Πονήματα – Έξωθεν καλή μαρτυρία – Θαυμαστά γεγονότα – Πνευματικά ύποθήκαι – Πίναξ φωτογραφιών (Vol. 1) (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξος Κυψέλη, 1980) 155; Fr. S. Poulis, "Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός," *'Ο Εφημέριος* (Athens) 29 (1.11.1980) 230.

³¹Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 284-285.

³²John Neamonitakis says:

"Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος' Επίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως, κατά τό ἔτος 1879 εἰς τὴν Χίον ύπηρξε διδάσκαλος τῶν πρώτων γραμμάτων μου. Τόν ἐνθυμούμαι τότε ὡ ἀπλούν ρασοφόρον Νεκτάριον Κεφαλᾶν τῆς Νέας Μονῆς τῆς Χίου, ἀσκητικόν καὶ ευσεβή, λάμποντα μέ τὴν ἀγιότητα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὸν ζῆλον τοῦ ἀληθινόςχριστιανοῦ.

"Η ἀγάπη τῆς μαθήσεως συντόμως τὸν ὡδήγησεν εἰς περαιτέρω σπουδάς εἰς τὴν πρωτεύουσαν (Χώραν) τῆς νήσου. 'Εκεῖ ἀπεφοίτησε τοῦ Γυμνασίου."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 284-285].

³³Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 25.

studies with special zeal and enthusiasm, and on their completion he returned to Nea Moni with a certificate to inform his Abbot and Bishop about the successful results of his efforts.³⁴

6. Theological Studies in the University of Athens

Nectarios' urgent longing and early desire to become a theologian, were realized in September 1882. At that time, with the express permission of the Abbot of Nea Moni, the exhortation of the Metropolitan of Chios and the support of the Chiotan professor of the University of Athens, Nicholas Damalas³⁵, the headmaster of the Gymnasium of Chios³⁶ and other notables of the island³⁷, he went to Athens, where, having successfully passed entrance

³⁴J. Timagenis, "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Ἐπίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως ὁ Θαυματουργός – Βίος καὶ πολιτεία – Θαύματα – Ἀσματική ἀκολουθία – Παρακλητικός κανών (Athens, Undated) 24. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ὁρθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 25; K. Stamatis, *Oι "Άγιοι τῆς Αἴγινας* (Athens, 1990) 83.

³⁵Metr. N. Kephalas, *Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαί Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἑκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 32-33. Cf. G. Leventidis, "'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος καὶ ἡ Χίος," *Ο Δασός* (Chios) 29 (3. 4. 1982) 1.

³⁶According to oral reports from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the headmaster of the High School of Chios, a contemporary of Saint Nectarios, supported him financially throughout his theological training.

³⁷Biographers of Saint Nectarios disagree as to who supported him financially when he was a theological student. The Athonite spiritual Father Joseph says that "the Christians of this area," that is of Chios, helped Saint Nectarios, anonymously [Elder Joseph, *Διδαχαί από τὸν Ἀθωνα* (Thessaloniki, 1989) 107, 109]. Chrysostom Papadopoulos says that Saint Nectarios was enrolled in the Theological School of Athens "under the protection of Demosthenes Choremes, son of John Choremes" [Archim. Ch. Papadopoulos, "'Ο Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 12 (November 27, 1920) 953]. Another group of biographers claim that the Saint was financed during his Theological studies by John Choremes and Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria [G. Leventidis, "'Ο Όσιος Νεκτάριος Αίγινης," *Ἐνορία* (Athens) 32 (1. 12. 1977) 251. Cf. also, S. Stamatelou, "Οἱ μεγάλες οἰκογένειες – Χωρέμη," *ΤΑ ΝΕΑ* (Athens) (23. 3. 1991) 37; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)" (Athens, 1985) 48; G. Dragas, "A Contemporary Greek Saint - Saint Nektarios 1846-1920," *Mount Carmel* (England) 27 (1979) 17]. Other biographers accept that the Saint studied the sacred science with the support of Patriarch Sophronios and the Patriarchate [J. Timagenis, "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Ἐπίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως ὁ Θαυματουργός – Βίος καὶ πολιτεία – Θαύματα – Ἀσματική ἀκολουθία – Παρακλητικός κανών (Athens, Undated) 24. Cf. also, S. Hondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – 'Ο "Όσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης, 1973) 52]. I think that all the above mentioned persons supported Nectarios financially.

examinations at the Varvakion Lyceum of Athens³⁸, he entered the Theological School of the National Kapodistrian University.³⁹ The Abbot's permission states the following:

Permission is given to Hierodeacon Nectarios D. Kephalas, brother of Nea Moni, to leave for Athens in order to continue his studies at the University. We recommend him to the hierarchs as devout, moral and virtuous, and we acknowledge the integrity of his character. For this reason the present certificate is handed out to him to be used for any occasion. At Nea Moni of Chios, 18 September, 1882. The Abbot Nicephoros.⁴⁰

Nectarios was register with the Theological School of Athens, for the academic year 1882-83. He was esteemed by his fellow students and his teachers for the modesty of his character, morality, excellent conduct, and diligence as a student. Professor N. Damalas, who was professor of the Interpretation of the New Testament, recognized Nectarios' intellectual ability and his special keenness to learn and became his patron. Neamonitakis, in his above mentioned article, says the following:

Subsequently, being led by the heart-felt need to enrich his knowledge, also being poor, but enjoying the

³⁸Archim. Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ο Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 12 (November 27, 1920) 953.

³⁹Mnemon, "Ιστορήματα - Νεκτάριος," *'Εστία* (Athens) 22777 (8.11.1956) 1; C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 15.

⁴⁰The Abbot's permision is the following:

"Παρέχεται ἡ ἀδεια τῷ ιεροδιακόνῳ Νεκταρίῳ Δ. Κεφαλᾷ, ἀδελφῷ τῆς Νεαμονῆς, ὅπως ἀπέλθῃ εἰς Ἀθήνας πρός ἐξακολουθησιν τῶν ἐν τῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ σπουδῶν του. Συνιστώμεν δέ τοις Ἀρχιερεῦσιν αὐτόν, ὃς εύσεβης, χρηστοήθη καὶ ἐνάρετον καὶ ὁμολογούμεν τὴν ἀκεραιότητα του χαρακτήρος του." Οθεν καὶ δίδωται τὸ παρόν ἐνδεικτικόν εἰς χεῖρας του, ὅπως τῷ χρησιμεύσῃ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ. Ἐν Νέᾳ Μονῇ τῆς Χίου τήν 18ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1882. Ο Καθηγούμενος Νικηφόρος."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 42; J. Timagenis, "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Ἐπίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως ὁ Θαυματουργός - Βίος καὶ πολιτεία - Θαύματα - Ἀσματική ἀκολουθία - Παρακλητικός κανών" (Athens, Undated) 24].

moral support of Professor Damalas, the Chiotan Theologian esteemed for his virtues, Nectarios arrived at Athens and was registered with the Theological School. Nicholas Damalas did his best to ensure material support for the poor, virtuous young man. Damalas' friendly connection with the very rich Chiotan merchant John Choremis, resulted in the latter's promise to provide for Nectarios a small monthly allowance. At the same time, believing that his portage was no ordinary student but an exceptionally good one, Damalas succeeded in finding a scholarship for him from the Theological School which secured his financial independence to the end of his University studies.⁴¹

Indeed, as dean of the Theology School and Rector of Athens University during 1878-1879, Damalas had earned for the University the great legacy of A. F. Papadakis.⁴² It was this legacy that provided the above scholarship for Nectarios, earned through competition in 1883. A document of the Rector of the University of Athens, P. G. Kyriakos, dated 19 May 1883 and addressed to the second year student of the Theological School, Deacon Nectarios D. Kephalas from Selybria, states the following:

According to the decision of the Academic Senate,
dated 7 May 1883, which endorses the Report of the

⁴¹ John Neamonitakis states also the following:

"Ἐν συνεχείᾳ ὁ δηγούμενος πάντοτε ἀπό τήν ἀνάγκην τοῦ πλουτισμοῦ τῶν γνώσεων Του, πτωχός, ἀλλ' ἔχων τὴν πολύτιμον ἡθικήν προστασίαν τοῦ ἐκτιμώντος τάς ἀρετάς Αὐτοῦ, ἀειμνήστου Καθηγητοῦ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Νικολάου Δαμαλᾶ, Χίου θεολόγου, ἔφθασεν εἰς τάς Αθηνας ὅπου καί ἐνεγράφη εἰς τήν Θεολογικήν Σχολήν. Διά τήν ἔξασφαλισιν σχετικῆς ψυλικῆς ἀνέσεως εἰς τὸν πτωχόν ἐνάρετον νέον, ὁ ἀειμνήστος Νικόλαος Δαμαλᾶς, ἔπραξε πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν. Συνδεόμενος ούτος διά στενῆς φιλίας μὲ τὸν ζάμπλουτον Χίον μεγαλέμπορον Ἰωάννην Χωρέμην, συνέστησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Νεκτάριον καὶ ἀπέσπασεν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ὅπως Τόν ἐνισχύσῃ τακτικῶς διά μικροῦ μηνιαίου ἐπιδόματος. Ἀλλά καὶ πέραν τούτου, πιστεύων, ὅτι ὁ προστατευόμενός του δέν ἡτο τυχαῖος φοιτητής, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκλεκτός, ἐπέτυχεν ὑπέρ Αὐτοῦ ὑποτροφίαν τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς, ἔξασφαλίζουσαν εἰς Αὐτὸν σχετικήν οἰκονομικήν ἀνεξαρτησίαν μέχρι πέρατος τῶν πανεπιστημιακῶν σπουδῶν Του."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 284].

⁴² M. Siotis, "Δαμαλᾶς Νικόλαος," Θρησκευτική καί Ἡθική Ἐγκυλοπαιδεία 4 (1964) 901-903.

Theological School concerning the result of the competition for the scholarship from the legacy of A. F. Papadakis, in which you took part, you have won the first prize. Therefore we appoint you holder of the scholarship of this legacy until the end of your studies at the Theological School, with a monthly allowance of 100 old drachmas, to begin from the date of the Senate's approval. You are obliged to live a decent life and at the end of each academic year, to submit to the Rector's office letters of approval from your professors indicating that you have been deemed worthy of the continuation of the scholarship because of your diligence. The Rector, P.G. Kyriakos. The Secretary, G. Kanellides.⁴³

Another beneficial event that took place during Nectarios' theological studies at Athens was his acquaintance with Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria. It was beneficial because it was to open the way for his career in that Great and venerable Church where he was to enter the holy order of the priesthood and even to rise to the episcopate. Actually it was his benefactor John Choremis who introduced him to Patriarch Sophronios, and suggested that he direct his aspirations towards the Alexandrian Church.

Indeed, according to oral sources from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Chiotan Choremis had developed rich commercial

⁴³The document of the Rector P. Kyriakos is the following:

"Κατά την ἀπό 7 έ. μηνός ἀπόφασιν τῆς Ακαδημ. Συγκλήτου ἐνεκρίθη ἡ τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς ἔκθεσις περὶ τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος τοῦ γενόμενου διαγωνισμοῦ περὶ ὑποτροφίας ἐκ τοῦ κληροδοτήματος τοῦ Α.Γ. Παπαδάκη, εἰς ἣν διαγωνισθέντες ἡριστεύσατε. "Οθεν διορίζομεν ὑμᾶς ὑπότροφον τοῦ κληροδοτήματος τούτου μέχρι τέλους τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεολογικῇ Σχολῇ σπουδῶν σας, ἐπὶ μηνιαίᾳ συντάξει δραχμῶν παλαιῶν ἑκατόν (100), ἀρχομένῃ ἀπό τῇ ρηθείσῃ ημέρᾳ τῆς ἐγκρίσεως τῆς Συγκλήτου. Ὁφείλετε δέ νά διάγητε κοσμίως καί εἰς τό τέλος ἐκάστου ἀκαδημ. ἔτους νά προσάγητε εἰς τό Πρυτανεῖον ἀποδείξεις τῶν οἰκείων καθηγητῶν, δηλούσας ὅπι ἐν τῇ ἀποπειρατηρίῳ δοκιμασίᾳ περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὑμῶν ἐκρίθητε ἄξιος πρός ἔξακολούθησιν τῆς ὑποτροφία σας. 'Ο Πρύτανις Π. Γ. Κυριακός. 'Ο Γραμματεὺς Γ. Κανελλίδης."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 42; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Άγιο Νεκτάριο - Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν" (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 18; C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 15].

activities in Alexandria, establishing a chain of shops by the name of "Choremis-Benakis & Company."⁴⁴ It was at Choremis prompting that Deacon Nectarios went to Egypt and made a personal acquaintance with Patriarch Sophronios. The Patriarch was quite pleased by the young clergyman, and invited him to return to Alexandria and join his clergy after the completion of his University studies.

Three years of Theology training at the University were crowned with success as Bachelor (προλύτης)⁴⁵, and the Hierodeacon Nectarios received his degree of Theology on 25 October 1885.⁴⁶ What is even more remarkable is that Nectarios was that year the only candidate who took the oath of Bachelor of Theology.⁴⁷ His innermost desire to become a theologian had at last been fulfilled, except that he had to put this theoretical knowledge to practice, i.e. to live as a theologian.

7. The Writings of this Period

1) Ecclesiastical Sermons on Faith and Confession

Deacon Nectarios Kephalas' first theological writing saw the light of publicity during the period of his studies in the Theological School of Athens. His first work "Ecclesiastical Sermons" (Λόγοι Εκκλησιαστικοί) was published in pamphlet form in Athens in 1884.

⁴⁴S. Stamatelou, "Οι μεγάλες οίκογένειες – Χωρέμη," *TANEA* (Athens) (23. 3. 1991) 37.

⁴⁵Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 237.

⁴⁶M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν" (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 18. Saint Nectarios' certificate of Theology hungs in his room in Holy Trinity Monastery in Aegina.

⁴⁷Τά κατά τήν έβδομη κοστήν πέμπτην ἀμφιετηρίδα τῆς ίδρυσεως τοῦ Εθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου (1837–1912) (Athens, 1912) 372.

It consists of three sermons which he himself had preached in various churches in Athens: a) On Faith (Περί Πίστεως), b) On Confession (Περί Ἐξομολογήσεως), and c) On the Divine Eucharist (Περί τῆς Θείας Εύχαριστίας).⁴⁸ Since these sermons have not been reprinted and were not available to us and since the only discussion of their contents is that of Cavarnos, we shall quote it in full as being succinct and most informative:

The thought in all is well-organized and set forth in a clear, simple and concise manner, and with the warmth that comes from the heart of one who possesses authentic piety. In the pamphlet *Concerning Faith*, the Saint undertakes to establish the nature and truth of the Christian faith drawing chiefly from the New Testament. Although we believe that the evidence from Scripture is sufficient to prove the truth of faith, he also offers the content of the Christian faith. The sermon *Concerning Confession* touches upon all the essential points of the subject. Saint Nectarios makes extensive use of Holy Scripture. In addition, he uses insights pertinent to the value of confession contained in the writings of ancient Greek writers, in particular Hesiod, Plato, and Plutarch. *Concerning the Divine Eucharist* extols the importance of this Mysterion, calling it 'the highest of the Mysteria (Sacraments) and the most necessary for man'.⁴⁹

2) Ten Ecclesiastical Sermons on the Great Lent

The second work of this early period, which Deacon Nectarios published in Athens in 1885, was entitled *Ten Ecclesiastical Sermons on the Great Lent* (Δέκα Λόγοι Ἐκκλησιαστικοί διά τὴν Μ. Τεσσαρακοστήν). In the first sermon, *On Faith* which is devoted to the First Sunday of Lent, the writer sees the pure heart as the

⁴⁸C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 16.

⁴⁹ibid., pp. 16-17.

prerequisite of faith which recognizes the omnipresence of God. In the second sermon *On Patience* which is devoted to the Second Sunday of Lent, Nectarios refers to the patience which someone ought to display in a period of afflictions. In the third sermon, *On True Freedom and its Relationship to the Moral Freedom*, which is devoted to the Third Sunday of Lent, he speaks about man as an image of God, naturally free and self-determined. In the fourth sermon *On Confession*, which is devoted to the Fourth Sunday of Lent, he exalts the exceptional necessity of the Sacrament of Confession. In the fifth sermon *On the Divine Eucharist*, which is devoted to the Fifth Sunday of Lent, he refers to the indication of the sacrament of the Eucharist, to its greatness and value, and also to the presuppositions which are required for someone to partake worthily of the holy gifts. In the sixth sermon *On Love and Worship towards God*, which is devoted to the Sixth Sunday of Lent, he speaks about the love and the worship which is due to God. In the seventh sermon *On Reconciliation and Redemption*, which is devoted to Good Friday, he develops as his main theme the saving advent of the God-man on earth, and its prediction by the Prophets. In the eighth sermon *On Repentance*, which is devoted to Meatfare Sunday, he refers to the coordination of the human will with God's grace which results in man's salvation. In the ninth sermon *On Worship in Spiritual Truth* he explains the meaning of the spiritual and rational worship which man offers up to God and how it is externalized in his life through the words of love. In the tenth sermon, which is entitled *Study on the Human and Animal Soul* Nectarios speaks about existence and rationality of man's soul, as well as about the irrationality of the soul of animals.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Metr. N. Kephalas, Δέκα Λόγοι Ἐκκλησιαστικοί διά τὴν Μεγάλην Τεσσαρακοστήν.

The academician Panayotis Bratsiotis, makes the following remarks about these sermons of Saint Nectarios:

.... these were the first fruits of his literary productions bearing witness to his divine zeal and predicting the distinguished, ecclesiastical and holy man who was to come in the future.⁵¹

This view, however, stands in contradiction to that of the review of the Saint's book found in the official periodical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate "Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια."⁵² Here an unnamed reviewer criticizes Deacon Nectarios for inexperience and overbearing boldness, and recommends restraint from publications and dedication to private study. The excessively critical and 'personal' tone of this review raise more questions about the reviewer than the author. This is confirmed by a careful reading of the Sermons themselves.

(Athens: Γ. Σταυριανοῦ, 1885) 5-38.

⁵¹Bratsiotis' remarks are the following:

"...οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ὑπῆρξαν τά πρωτόλεια τῆς συγγραφικῆς του παραγωγῆς καὶ μαρτυρούσι περὶ τοῦ ἐνθέου ζῆλου καὶ προαγγέλουσι τὸν μέλλοντα διαπρεπῆ ἐκκλησιαστικόν καὶ ἄγιον ἄνδρα."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, Ὁ Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 237.]

⁵²The unnamed reviewer's critical article is the following:

"Καίτοι οὐδίγον ἀγαπῶμεν τὴν αὐστηράν κριτικήν διά τὰ ἔργα τῆς καθήμας πενιχρᾶς φιλολογίας, ἵνα μή ἐντεύθεν ἀποδειλιώσιν οἱ δυνάμενοι πώς εἰς τό κοινόν τι νά προσάγωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐχί σπανίως εὐρισκόμεθα εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην νά κατακρίνωμεν ἔργα πρωτοπείρων μάλιστα καὶ τολμηρῶν ἀνθρώπων. Εἰς τοιαύτην ἀνάγκην περιήγαγεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡ ἀνάγνωσις τῶν ἀγγελομένων δέκα λόγων τοῦ ἱερολογιωτάτου Ν. Δ. Κεφάλα, δότις ἐν τῷ μαθητικῷ ἐπὶ σταδίῳ τρέχων δέν ὕκνησεν νά προσαγάγῃ μαρτύριόν τι τῆς περί τὴν ὁμιλητικήν ἐνασχολήσεως." Ισως πολύ κάλλιον θά ἔπραττε νά ἀφηνε τούς λόγους αὐτού ἐπί μακρόν ἐτι ἡσυχάζοντας ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ γραφείῳ καὶ μετά ταῦτα ἐν ὥριμωτέρα κατά τάς γνώσεις ἡλικίᾳ νά σκεφθῇ ἄν εἰναι ἀνάγκη νά προστεθώσι καὶ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι εἰς τούς πολλούς καὶ πολυωνύμους, ὅσοι ἀπό τινος δημοσιευόμενοι δυσκολεύουσι μάλλον ἀντί νά εύκολύνωσι τὴν περί τό κήρυγμα ἐνασχόλησιν τῶν ἀπλουστέρων μάλιστα ἱερέων. "Οπως δήποτε ὅμως ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸν ζῆλον τοῦ γράψαντος καὶ συνιστώμεν αὐτῷ πλείονα φιλοπονίαν καὶ ὀλιγοτέραν εἰς δημοσιεύσεις διάθεσιν."

[*"Βιβλιοκρισία," Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια (Constantinople) 9 (September 15, 1885) 429].*

3) Other Sermons and Preaching

Apart from the two above mentioned collections of Sermons which Nectarios published during his theological studies, there is evidence that there are other sermons which were composed and delivered to various churches in Chios, where he went during the vacations. Unfortunately these sermons were lost because of the great earthquake which struck the island and caused considerable damage to Nea Moni.⁵³

⁵³G. Leventidis, "Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος καί ή Χίος," *Ο Λαός* (Chios) 29 (3. 4. 1982) 1.

PART TWO: THE CLERGYMAN (1885-1890)

1. Nectarios as Deacon and Presbyter

One of the most important stages in the life and pastoral activity of Saint Nectarios, during which one could observe the inner grandeur of his soul and his rich and manifold contributions to the Church and to education, is the stage of his ministry in the Patriarchate of Alexandria. One of the senior supporters of Saint Nectarios during his theological studies at the University of Athens was Patriarch Sophronios IV of Alexandria, also known as "Byzantios" (Βυζάντιος), presumably because he came from Constantinople. Having the invitation of Sophronios and a registered letter from the Chiotan notable John Choremes, Nectarios went over to Egypt, probably during the second year of his university studies. He stayed for a while at Patriarchate in Alexandria. Sophronios admired the piety of the young Deacon Nectarios and promised to grant him moral and financial support.⁵⁴ Sophronios was impressed by the spiritual interests of Nectarios and invited him to join the clergy of the Patriarchate, after the completion of his studies. Thus, Nectarios, assisted by Sophronios and Choremes⁵⁵, graduated from the Theological School of Athens and was awarded the degree of "licentiate" in Theology, on 25

⁵⁴According to the sources of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria, John Choremis, the Director of the Elementary School of Chios, and the Professor of the University of Athens John Damalas were the main supporters of Saint Nectarios, while he was student of School of Theology.

⁵⁵Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστου Πατρός ήμών καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνη Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 10. See also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *ΟἼαγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 41-42.

October 1885.⁵⁶ Having received the permission and benediction of his venerable Elder, the Metropolitan Gregorios (Pavlides) of Chios, the Saint left Chios, but he did not break contact with his Bishop and his close friends and relatives in Selybria. On November 26, 1885, Nectarios reached Alexandria⁵⁷ where he was received by the Patriarch; he lived in the Patriarchate and offered his services to Patriarch Sophronios with an exemplary devotion and obedience.

The period in which Saint Nectarios began his career in Egypt includes the time during which the efforts of the Greeks was to focus on the financial concerns of the community, and to continue their ethnic life by becoming the founders of schools, churches, hospitals, and other charitable institutions. This period proved to be very successful as far as the pursuit of prosperity for the Greeks is concerned. As far as the life and deeds of the Greeks in the two largest Greek Communities, Alexandria and Cairo, in both of which Saint Nectarios had worked, we must draw attention to the following events.

The promotional activity of the Greek Community in Alexandria (G.C.A.) begins in 1884. During the elections of 1884 they chose Commissioners, G. Averof, K. Zervoudakes, E. Benakes,

⁵⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)' (Athens, 1985) 42.

⁵⁷In the Archives in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in the "Μητρώον Ἱεροῦ Κλήρου τοῦ Ἀγιωτάτου καὶ Ἀποστολικοῦ Θρόνου Ἀλεξανδρείας," (Codex 37, No. 114), says the following: "Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς. Ἱεροδιάκονος, ἐγκαταστάθη στό Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας στίς 26/9/βρίου 1885, πατρίς Σηλυβρία, ἔχειροτονήθη ἵερεύς στίς 23 Μαρτίου 1886 ύπό τοῦ Πατριάρχου Σωφρονίου ἐν Ἀγίῳ Σάββᾳ, Μ. Ἀρχιμανδρίτης ἐν Ἀγίῳ Νικολάῳ Καΐρου κατά Αὔγουστον 1886. ἔχειροτονήθη Ἀρχιερεύς Μητροπόλεως Πενταπόλεως, ἀναχωρών κατ' Ὁκτώβριον 1890." According to Saint Nectarios' biographer, Monk Theokletos Dionysiatis, the Saint "ἀνεχώρησε γιά τὴν Ἀλεξανδρεία κατά τὰ τέλη Σ/βρίου τοῦ 1882, ἐφοδιασμένος μέ σχετική ἄδεια ἀπό τὸν ἡγούμενο τοῦ μοναστηρίου του, Νικηφόρο" [Monk Theokletos Dionysiatis, 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki, 1979) 25]. This information does not seem to be confirmed, and thus because the written legal permission that was given to Nectarios by the Abbot Nichephorus of Nea Moni of Chios, dated September 18, 1882, was given "ὅπως ἀπέλθῃ εἰς Ἀθῆνας πρός ἔξακολούθησιν τῶν ἐν τῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ σπουδῶν του" [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)' (Athens, 1985) 42].

and K. Salvagos, and in 1885 Averof was elected as President of the Committee, in which position he remained until his death in 1899. This famous national benefactor continually covered the Community's financial deficits. He left notable amounts to the G.C.A. in his last will. Already, from 1878, a high school with two classes had been founded in Alexandria, which later became an ordinary school, with an average standard of education and was renamed "Averofeion" in 1886. The Tositsaia School had operated in the same period. Under the supervision of G.C.A. the Greek Hospital named "Saint Sophronios" was actively constituted as a scientific research center.⁵⁸

The first Greek Community in Cairo established in 1856 was called "Greek Orthodox Community." Since the seventeenth century, the Greeks of Cairo had an educational tradition, because the Patriarchate maintained the three schools for the Greek children, the Monastery of Saint George in Old Cairo and an Old People's home. Around 1860 or 1861, Ambetios School operated in Cairo. In 1883, E. Achilloopoulos donated a large amount of money for the maintenance of the Girls' School, which was housed in the area of Mouski, together with the Boys' School. The Greek compatriots in Cairo from 1869 and the following years faced serious financial problems which also influenced the life of the Church there. The event is witnessed to in the letters of Saint Nectarios written during the years 1886-87. At this time many establishments closed, only to become active again many years later.⁵⁹

⁵⁸G. Kipiadis, "Ελληνες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ συγχρόνου Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἐγκατάστασις καὶ Καθιδρύματά Εθνικά(1766–1892)" (Alexandria, 1892) 31.

⁵⁹E. Souloyannis, "Οι "Ελληνες στήν Αἴγυπτο (19ος – 20ος αι.) – Κοινωνία – Εκπαίδευση – Εκδόσεις," *'Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* (Alexandria) 68 (1991) 90, 110, 115. See also, E. Souloyannis, *The Greeks in Egypt in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Athens, 1992) 1-2.

The Orthodox Patriarchate of Saint Mark in Alexandria was in its glory with the influx of these new Orthodox Christians. As we will see in the next chapters, it established a strong relationship with these Greek Communities, guiding them spiritually and supporting them in building churches, creating schools, and generally bringing in immigrants, who were certainly a contrast to the local population, the Arabs, who were at the time still underdeveloped and poor.

Sophronios noted Nectarios' willingness and zeal, and studied how he could make his new theologian a worthy clergyman. His desire was to help him live up to the high spiritual expectations and demands of the Greeks in Egypt. The Greeks at that time wanted dynamic, knowledgeable and active spiritual leaders who would be able to offer effective pastoral care. Sophronios' thoughts became embodied in the person of the young Deacon. Therefore, some months after his arrival in Alexandria, on March 23, 1886, at the festal Divine Liturgy, the ordination of Deacon Nectarios, who was then forty years of age, took place to the second degree of the sacred priesthood, the presbyterate, at the hands of Patriarch Sophronios in the Patriarchal Cathedral of Saint Sabbas, in Alexandria.⁶⁰

2. Nectarios as Great Archimandrite

On August 6th of the same year 1886, the Patriarch conferred on Nectarios the rank of the Great Archimandrite of the Patriarchal Throne in Alexandria and of the General Confessor in the territory of Egypt and the Superior of the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas, to

whom duties of preacher, Patriarchal Warden and Director of the Patriarchal Office in Cairo were conferred.⁶¹ St. Nectarios undertook the Direction of the Patriarchal Office in Cairo having succeeded the Metropolitan Ignatius of Libya, on August 12, 1886, when he was dismissed.⁶² Nectarios' ordination is corroborated by a letter dated August 7, 1886, which was directed from Patriarch Sophronios in Cairo to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevai in which he reports as follows:

Yesterday, we ordained Father Nectarios as Great Archimandrite of our Most Holy Throne, and spiritual father of these spiritual children of mine who come to confess to him.⁶³

Sophronios also charged Nectarios with the duties of Preacher, Patriarchal Commissioner, and Dean of the Patriarchal Clerical Office in Cairo.⁶⁴ In the letter dated August 26, 1886, which was sent by the Patriarch Sophronios from Alexandria to the Trustees of the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo, he announced the charge of the duties of the new Archimandrite Nectarios as follows:

We have also orally informed you that we have recently appointed the Archimandrite Mr. Nectarios

⁶¹ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, "Ο Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)" (Athens: 1985) 222-224. J. Triantaphyllakis, "Ο Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 21/22 (November 1, 1961) 292.

⁶² Archim. Chr. Papadopoulos, "Ο Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 12 (November 27, 1920) 953. Metr. T. Matthaiakis, "Ο Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)" (Athens: 1985) 43.

⁶³ The Association of Greek Literary and Historic Archive (E.L.I.A.), Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.

⁶⁴ "Χθές ἐχηροθετήσαμεν τὸν πάτερ Νεκτάριον Μ. Ἀρχιμανδρίτην τοῦ Ἁγιωτάτου ἡμῶν Θρόνου καὶ πνευματικόν πατέρα τῶν ἐπ' ἔξομολογήσει προσερχομένων αὐτῷ πνευματικῶν ἡμῶν τέκνων." E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.

⁶⁵ S. Chondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – Ο Ὀσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς, (Aegina, 1973) 56. M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τὸν ἄγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις με 30+1 ἀνθρώπους πού τὸν γνώρισαν 1 (1987) 18.

Kephalas as our commissioner in our Patriarchate here. Because of the passing of time, this oral information was not made available to all the members of the honorable Committee, we have written this letter officially by which we have announced to all of you that the ex-commissioner Metropolitan Ignatius of Libya has resigned and left, and Archimandrite Mr. Nectarios Kephalas is appointed, whom we authorize to represent us at meetings etc., signing instead of us on the records of the minutes, and every document-carrying out the decisions of the Committee.⁶⁵

The Board of the above Community met after the receipt of the above letter of Sophronios, having accepted the election of Nectarios as the new Patriarchal Warden.⁶⁶ Nectarios displayed efficiency and zeal in the execution of his new duties. Concerning the word and administrative abilities of Nectarios in the letter dating September 16, 1886 which was sent by Patriarch Sophronios to Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevai, it is as follows:

...., we have appointed a man whom we trust, learning and with necessary qualifications to the vacant position as our representative and administrator of our affairs in the Patriarchate in Cairo.⁶⁷

⁶⁵The letter of Patriarch Sophronios' to the Trustees is the following. The Patriarch's reference to the resignation of Metropolitan Ignatius is a polite way of publically referring to the official dismissal.

"Καὶ προφορικῶς εἴχομεν συστῆσει ὑμῖν ὅτι αὐτόθι ἐσχάτως διορίζομεν τὸν Αρχιμανδρίτην κυρ Νεκτάριον Κεφαλᾶν ὡς ἡμέτερον ἐπίτροπον τοῦ αὐτόθι ἡμετέρου Πατριαρχείου. Ἐπειδὴ δέ ἔνεκα τῆς ἐλλείψεως χρόνου ἡ προφορική αὕτη σύστασις δέν ἐγένετο εἰς πάντα τά μέλη τῆς σεβαστῆς ἐπιτροπῆς γράφομεν πλήρες τὸ παρόν, δι' οὐ ἀνακοινοῦμεν ὑμῖν πᾶσι ὅτι παραιτηθέντος τοῦ τέως ἐπιτρόπου (σ.σ. Μητροπολίτου Λιβύης Ἰγγνατίου) κ.λ.π. ἀναχωρήσαντος διορίσθη νέος δ' Αρχιμανδρίτης Κ. Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς, ὃν ἔχουσι δοτούμεν ἵνα ἀντιπροσωπεύῃ ἡμᾶς ἐν ταῖς συνεδριάσεσιν κλπ. ὑπογράφη ἀνθ' ἡμῶν εἰς τε τά πρακτικά καὶ πᾶν ἔγγραφον – ἐκτελή τάς ἀποφάσεις τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς."

[*"Πρωτόκολλον εἰσερχομένων καί ἔξερχομένων ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἐν' Αλεξανδρείᾳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων (1886–1889);"* (August 26, 1886) No. 104, pp. 264-265. E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 121].

⁶⁶"Ελληνική Κοινότης Καίρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν 'Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896" (No. 79, pp. 76-77).

⁶⁷"... εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ Πατριαρχείῳ Καίρου κενωθεῖσαν θέσιν τῆς Ἀντιπροσωπείας μας ὡς καὶ τῆς διαχειρίσεως τῶν ὑποθέσεών μας ἐδιορίσαμεν "Ἄνδραν τῆς ἐμπιστοσύνης μας πεπαιδευμένον καί μέ τά ἀνήκοντα προσόντα ...!"

3. The Pastoral Work of Archimandrite Nectarios

We derive much information concerning the pastoral concerns of Saint Nectarios from the Minutes of the Meetings of the Greek Community in Cairo. Assistance and financial aid to the poor are stressed in many meetings of the Board. It is on Saint Nectarios' initiative that the Community of the Cairo organized benevolent theatrical performances, as these were called at that time, in order to collect money and distribute it to the poor at Christmas or Easter.⁶⁸ The Community Board assisted both the Greek and Egyptian poor with sums paid by the contributions of its registered members and if this was impossible, money was withdrawn from the reserve funds of the Community property.⁶⁹ The Board distributed oil and clothes to the poor. In the Registry of the Patriarchal Warden in Cairo one can see the registration of a letter of thanks by Saint Nectarios to Messrs. A. Mayer & Co. for the offer of 12 suits for the poor children.⁷⁰ There were cases when Saint Nectarios issued free certificates for sacraments⁷¹ in order to discharge the poor from expenses and in this way he gained their confidence in the Church. This was also a way of guidance.

[E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122].

⁶⁸The charitable work of the Board of the Creek Community in Cairo has been cited in the Minutes of its meetings, of November 9, 1886, December 20, 1886, December 21, 1887, and April 18, 1888. Έλληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 93-94, 95-96, 124, 129.

⁶⁹"Νά ληφθώσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Τραπέζῃ Credit Lyounais ἀποθεματικῶν κεφαλαίων τῶν κτημάτων λίραι ἐβδομήκοντα, ὅπως διανεμηθώσιν εἰς τούς πτωχούς λίρας πεντήκοντα". Τακτική Συνεδρίασις τῆς 20 Δεκεμβρίου 1886. Έλληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, σελ. 95-96.

⁷⁰Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1533 (March 3, 1887) 212.

⁷¹Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1608 (March 9, 1888) 225; No. 1609 (March 22, 1888) 226.

The most important work performed by the Community of Cairo when Saint Nectarios was the Patriarchal Warden, during the period of our study, was the "building of seventeen small houses for the poor people" in the yard of Saint Mark in the suburb of Hart El Rum in Cairo. The building started on October 28, 1886, by the submission of a drawing and was completed on December 19, 1888, by the inauguration of the Poor-house.⁷² The importance of this project is that it was completed within a period which was characterized as particularly difficult for the Community of Cairo. The whole procedure was completed within eight meetings of the Community Board. When one reads the Minutes of these meetings, one cannot but admire the perseverance of Patriarch Sophronios and Saint Nectarios, as well as of the members of the Board, for the realization of this housing plan, during a difficult period, from the financial point of view, of the Community, as during these meetings the empty Community treasury is mentioned, and for the various methods used in order to achieve this humanitarian project.

The sacraments were means of pastoral action for Saint Nectarios, allowing him a spiritual communication with young people. It is true that in comparison with his colleagues, Saint Nectarios performed the least number sacraments, i.e. nineteen baptisms⁷³ and nine marriages.⁷⁴ Saint Nectarios' interest for young people is apparent in two letters of his. The first, dated March 26, 1887, was sent by him to Artan Iakov Pasha, requesting him to intervene for the admission of Apostolos N. Apostolides, a young man from Leros, to the Technical University of Egypt

⁷² Ελληνική Κοινότης Καίρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτων 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 84-85, 87, 93-94, 95-96, 117, 121, 122, 138.

⁷³ Πρωτόκολον Βαπτίσεων των έτων 1871-1899. See also, Βαπτιστικά, No. 5, 6, 7.

⁷⁴ Αδειαι Γάμων, No. 5.

"Voulakio."⁷⁵ The second letter, dated May 9, 1887, was sent to the Consul of Tynis, via the Greek Consulate of Cairo for the discharge from prison of a certain young man named Alexander Sarrouf.⁷⁶

The pastoral intervention of Saint Nectarios for the adoption of a young girl of a widow, living in the Patriarchate as a protégé of the Saint, was touching. In the Minutes of adoption No. 526 of the Patriarchal Code we can read about the adoption of the young girl by her new parents who, according to the Saint "as from this day, consider her as their natural child and they undertake her support and her Christian bringing up and her marriage. Therefore, the girl was delivered to them and the religious ceremony of the adoption was performed."⁷⁷

In some cases, Saint Nectarios showed his pastoral care dealing with divorce or the dissolution of the marriage of some couples. In the minutes, the Saint reports the reasons that drove him to take such a decision. In the act of dissolution of an engagement, the Saint, in his desire to save the honor of a girl who was deceived, called her fiancé into the Patriarchate three times. He refused to go saying that he was a mason and had nothing to do with the Orthodox Church, considering his engagement with the girl as dissolved. Consequently, the Saint ratified the act of dissolution of the engagement, giving to the girl the opportunity to start a new life.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1518 (March 26, 1887) 210.

⁷⁶ Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1675 (May 9, 1887) 236.

⁷⁷ Minutes of adoption of March 29, 1888, (No. 526) Κώδιξ Ε΄ ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, p. 89.

⁷⁸ Dissolution of engagement of August 31, 1887, (No. 445) Κώδιξ Ε΄ ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, p. 52.

In case of character incompatibility, Saint Nectarios used the separation of the couple as a pastoral measure, hoping that in the meantime they would see the wisdom to live together. If not, the Saint imposed on them a separation of six months, then a separation for an indefinite period and finally seven years, according to the Church laws in force at that time.⁷⁹ In an interesting case, Saint Nectarios issued an act of separation for incompatibility and risk of infection from the husband who suffered from a contagious disease.⁸⁰ In cases where the spouses could not reach an agreement, Saint Nectarios issued the divorce as the extreme solution.⁸¹

Other cases where Saint Nectarios granted divorce were when one of the two spouses had a problem of sexual impotence⁸², when one of the spouses married without a divorce from his previous marriage⁸³, when two brothers married two sisters in opposition to canon law⁸⁴, when a spouse abandoned the marital home etc.. In this latter case, when it was harmful for children to live with divorced parents, he asked the State to protect the children and transferred them to orphanages, according to Church law.⁸⁵

⁷⁹Minutes of separation of September 21, 1887, (No. 453) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 55. See also, Minutes of separation of May 27, 1887, (No. 403) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 25.

⁸⁰Minutes of separation of October 18, 1888, (584) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 119.

⁸¹Declaration of divorce of February 4, 1888, (No. 499) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 77. See also, Act of divorce of November 16, 1888, (No. 599) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 125.

⁸²Decision of Ecclesiastical Court of March 10, 1887, (No. 366) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, pp. 1-2.

⁸³Decision of Ecclesiastical Court of March 23, 1887, (No. 373) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, pp. 7.

⁸⁴Decision of Ecclesiastical Court of May 30, 1888, (No. 545) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 98.

⁸⁵Certificate of divorce of November 9, 1888, (No. 594) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 124.

The Saint had rejected only one case of divorce when he discovered that the plaintiffs had given false evidence against a woman who was accused for adultery. Then the Saint ordered investigation on and examined witnesses. As fraud was proved on the part of the husband, the Saint rejected the petition for a divorce and imposed on the husband the most severe punishment of that time, that is to pay the costs of the ~~court~~ court.⁸⁶

4. The Writings of this Period

1) Ecclesiastical Sermon on the First Sunday of Lent

The first published study of Saint Nectarios as Archimandrite is his homily before the Patriarch of Alexandria, in the Patriarchal Church of Saint Nicholas, based on the text of the parable of the Good Samaritan. This homily, titled *Ecclesiastical Sermon in Saint Nicholas Church in Cairo, on the First Sunday of Lent*, was printed in Alexandria, in 1886, in "Omonia" Editions. Saint Nectarios starts his sermon with the question of the lawyer to Jesus, concerning eternal life. Saint Nectarios defines eternal life as the endless perpetuation of the self in communion with God. This inner truth can be perceived by man through the intuitions of the heart and is confirmed by wisdom and inner yearning.⁸⁷ According to Saint Nectarios, eternal life depends on the quality of life in this world. It is experienced by the spiritual worship and true devotion to God and love for people expressed in mutual help, mutual benefit,

⁸⁶Decision of Ecclesiastical Court of February 12, 1888, (No. 510) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, pp. 82-83; Decision of Ecclesiastical Court of February 17, 1888, (No. 514) *Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890*, p. 84.

⁸⁷G. Archim. N. Kephalas, *Λόγος Ἐκκλησιαστικός ἐκφωνηθείς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἅγιον Νικολάου ἐν Καΐρῳ τῇ Α΄ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Τεσσαρακονθημέρου* (Alexandria, 1886) 5.

progress and the promotion of both the physical and spiritual nature of man.

2) Ecclesiastical Sermon on Confession

The first work that Saint Nectarios published in Athens in 1885 was entitled *Ten Ecclesiastical Sermons on the Great Lent*.⁸⁸ The Fourth *Ecclesiastical Sermon on Confession*,⁸⁹ was devoted to the Fourth Sunday of Lent, and addressed in a church of Athens on March 23, 1885. This sermon was enlarged and republished by Saint Nectarios under the same title in 1887, in Cairo. The sermon "Concerning Confession" touches upon all the essential points of the subject. The author exalts the exceptional necessity of the Sacrament of Confession. He makes extensive use of Holy Scripture. In addition, he uses insights pertinent to the value of confession contained in the writings of ancient Greek writers, in particular Hesiod, Plato, and Plutarch.

3) Two Ecclesiastical Sermons on Faith and Miracles

The first work by Nectarios in Cairo appeared in 1887, and had the title *Two Ecclesiastical Sermons*.⁹⁰ He preached the first sermon in the Patriarchal Cathedral Church of Saint Nicholas in Cairo. It was entitled "On the Sunday of Orthodoxy, that is on Faith." He preached the second sermon in the Patriarchal Cathedral

⁸⁸Deac. N. Kephalas, Δέκα Λόγοι Ἐκκλησιαστικοί διά τὴν Μεγάλην Τεσσαρακοστήν , (Athens, 1885).

⁸⁹Archim. N. Kephalas, Λόγος Ἐκκλησιαστικός περὶ Ἐξομολογήσεως (Cairo, 1887).

⁹⁰Archim. N. Kephalas, Δύο Λόγοι Ἐκκλησιαστικοί · Εἰς τὴν Κυριακήν τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας, ἡτοι περὶ πίστεως, Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Κόσμῳ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡτοι περὶ θαυμάτων (Cairo, 1887).

Church of Saint Sabbas in Alexandria. It had the title "On the Revelation of God in the World, that is on Miracles."

Taking Hebrews⁹¹ as his point of departure for his first sermon, Saint Nectarios undertook to show that: "(a) We ought to order our actions with reference to our Faith. (b) We ought to prefer the afflictions that go with the promise of salvation than the life of luxury. (c) The believer ought to regard the reproach of Christ more precious than earthly treasures. (d) We ought to believe in recompense."⁹² To establish these points, he made special reference to the Church Fathers.

In the second sermon, the Saint defended the reality of miracles as one of the ways in which God reveals Himself to man through nature. The denial of miracles, he said, implied the negation of divine revelation, which is the foremost doctrine of Christianity. Basic to his defense is his distinction between two worlds: the natural and the spiritual world, each of which has its own laws and operations. Our Saint incidentally touched upon other ways in which God reveals Himself to man.⁹³

4) On the Holy Synods and the First Two Ecumenical Synods

The disdain for Byzantium and the Church on the part of many Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century, and also the predominant confusion of the ideas concerning the necessity of the Ecumenical Synods, constituted the incentives which Nectarios pushed to deal with that subject. He embarked on the very difficult and painful work of refuting the prevalent ideas concerning the

⁹¹Hebrews 11: 24-27.

⁹²Archim. N. Kephalas, *Δύο Λόγοι Έκκλησιαστικοί* (Cairo, 1887) 4.

⁹³Archim. N. Kephalas, *Δύο Λόγοι Έκκλησιαστικοί* (Cairo, 1887) 6.

Ecumenical Synods and also of the restoration of unjustly disdained Byzantium in the conscience of the learned people.

It is known that the historian Constantine Paparegopoulos first developed a positive appreciation of Byzantium by publishing his classical work *The History of the Greek Nation*, in which Byzantine History is seen as the continuation of the ancient Greek one. He presented Byzantium ⁱⁿ all its glory but hiding its dark aspects. The great historian could not understand Byzantine theology as he could understand political history. At those points, in which the Church of Byzantium had come to a conflict with the emperors, Paparegopoulos mostly sided with the emperors. He placed the interest of the nation above all, thinking of the differences in doctrine as unworthy subjects for discussion, which only existed in order to break up the unity of the country.

The Greek scholars of Saint Nectarios' period had, in part, adopted the ideas of Paparegopoulos. For this reason the Saint also felt the compulsion, because he was a clergyman, to refute this erroneous ideology circulating in Alexandria about 1888. His apologetic work, *On the Sacred Synods and on the Importance of the First Two Ecumenical Synods* sets out to do so.⁹⁴ That was his first fruitful work in the research which he did on this subject. This writing was dedicated to his patron and benefactor Patriarch Sophronios,⁹⁵ as a token of his gratitude.

His writing dealt with the necessities and needs of the conciliar institution of the ancient Church and the evolution of the phenomenon of synods. It culminated with a concentration in the

⁹⁴Archim. N. Kephalas, *Περί τῶν Ιερῶν Συνόδων καὶ ιδίως περί τῆς σπουδαιότητος τῶν δύο πρώτων Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων* (Alexandria, 1886).

⁹⁵"Τῇ Αὐτοῦ Θειοτάτῃ Παναγιότητι καὶ Μακαριότητι τῷ Πάπᾳ καὶ Πατριάρχῃ Αλεξανδρείας τῷ τρισεβάστῳ Προστάτῃ καὶ Εὐεργέτῃ Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙΩ εὐγνωμοσύνης ἐνεκεν".

First and Second Ecumenical Synods. Nectarios distributed many copies of the above work, sending some of them to the leaders of the Orthodox Church. This matter is attested by a congratulatory letter, which Saint Nectarios received from Patriarch Gerasimos of Antioch, a few days after his ordination as Metropolitan of Pentapolis.⁹⁶

Nectarios' intention was to complete his work in one lengthy composition about the remaining five Ecumenical Synods. His removal from Egypt and unexpected arrival in Athens cut-short the realization of his desire, until the year 1892, when as the Sacred Preacher of the county of Euboea, he published his definitive edition of the above work with the title, *The Ecumenical Synods of Christ's Church.*⁹⁷

5) On the Revelation of God in the World

The next writing published by Metropolitan Nectarios in 1888 in Alexandria is *On the Revelation of God in the World.*⁹⁸ This study which was dedicated by the author to his friend Demosthenes Choremes,⁹⁹ the son of his patron John Choremes, is divided into three parts. In the first part, he set out to prove that miracles can be understood logically, they are not threatened by the appearance of other supernatural laws and are a consequence of the Creator's love for His creation. The second part forms a more extensive development of the same subject. The writer progressed dialectically and treated the theme of God's revelation. In the third

⁹⁶ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, ΌΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 107-108.

⁹⁷ ΆΙ Οἰκουμενικά Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἑκκλησίας (Athens, 1892).

⁹⁸ Metr. N. Kephalas, Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Κόσμῳ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, (Alexandria, 1888).

⁹⁹"Τῷ Φιλογενεστάτῳ καὶ Φιλομουσοτάτῳ Κυρίῳ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗ ΧΩΡΕΜΗ βαθυτάτης εὐγνωμοσύνης ἐλάχιστον τεκμήριον".

part, the revelation of God to the world is demonstrated from history. Nectarios brought forward all the prophecies which were found in the Prophets and associated with the coming of the expected Messiah, and showed the results in the person of Jesus Christ.

The expanded edition of the above treatise had already been completed when Saint Nectarios was still living in Cairo, on October 13, 1890, but his ejection from the Patriarchate of Alexandria delayed the publication. Finally, he published it in 1892 in Kyme of Euboea, adding two more chapters.¹⁰⁰ The fourth part presents the prophecies relevant to the infidelity of the Jews, their land, and the calling of the nations. In the fifth chapter, the author presents the prophecies which are associated with the punishment of the nations which afflicted the "sons of Israel." The present study, distributed as a gift by Metropolitan Nectarios, found reasonable acceptance among the people.

6) Sermon on Our Duties to the Holy Sanctuary

Sermon on Our Duties to the Holy Sanctuary, addressed by Saint Nectarios at the Ambetios School in Cairo, was published in 1888, by the Greek Printing-House G. G. Mazarakis & Co. This speech is the explication of the passage of the Letter to the Hebrews by the Apostle Paul (9:1), referring to Jesus as a Great High priest. Saint Nectarios contrasts the Sanctuary of Moses, in which sacrifices to God were offered for the High priest's personal sins and those of the people, to the sinless Jesus, who was the victim and the sacrificer offering himself in the heavenly Holy of Holies to the redemption of

¹⁰⁰Metr. N. Kephalas, *Περί τῆς ἐν τῷ Κόσμῳ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ*. 2nd Edition (Kyme, Euboea, 1892).

humanity. Then the speaker sets out our duties to the Holy Sanctuary that are epitomized in the offer of living spiritual sacrifice to God and the realization that we deservedly receive communion of the Holy Sacrament, thus proving our love for God. The Saint ends by saying that the criterion for this love is our love toward our fellow human beings.¹⁰¹

7) Other Homilies and Sermons

In addition to his other activities, Nectarios preached in Cairo, as in other cities, Alexandria, Zagazik, Port-Said, etc.. Nectarios later published some of his sermons with suitable elaboration. Others were published in local magazines. Regarding the sermons which Nectarios preached, Patriarch Sophronios in a letter on November 11, 1886 to the Metropolitan Matthaios, remarks as follows:

Archimandrite Mr. Nectarios will preach here (i.e., in Alexandria) next Sunday and he wishes to have it published in the newspaper "Omonia".¹⁰²

Again, Sophronios in a letter written on February 24th addressed to the same person, wrote:

Archimandrite Nectarios was given permission to preach on the fourth Sunday in Zagazik, and the fifth in Port-Said, "On Love".¹⁰³

¹⁰¹G. Archim. N. Kephalas, Λόγος περί τῶν καθηκόντων ἡμῶν πρός τὸ "Αγιον Θυσιαστήριον" (Cairo, 1888) 9.

¹⁰²"Ο' Αρχιμανδρίτης Κύρ Νεκτάριος θά ἐκφωνήσῃ τὴν προσεχή Κυριακή ἐνταῦθα (σ.σ. στήν Αλεξάνδρεια) καὶ ἀς τὸ δημοσιεύσει εἰς τὸ φύλλο τῆς Ομονοίας".

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.

¹⁰³"Ο' Αρχιμανδρίτης Νεκτάριος ἐνεκρίθη νά ἐκφωνήσῃ τὴν μέν τετάρτην Κυριακήν εἰς Ζαγαζίκιον, τὴν δέ πέμπτην εἰς Πόρτ-Σάιδ περί ἀγάπης".

[E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122].

8) Correspondence

In studying over 10 years in the libraries all the records available, especially in the Patriarchate of Alexandria and the sacred Monastery of Sinai - in Athens and abroad -, was the discovery of twenty-four hand-written unpublished letters of Saint Nectarios. Therefore, as far as we know, Saint Nectarios addressed: a) To the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria, b) To the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais, c) To Archbishop Porphyrios I of Sinai, and to other persons, which are included in the bibliography.

In these letters, Nectarios reported about many subjects concerning the functioning and the administration of the Patriarchal Office which was administered from Cairo concerning the internal life and the financial difficulties which he faced during that time. By thoroughly studying these letters, we are able to see the feelings of gratitude which took hold of the soul of that Saint to his benefactors, such as the Patriarch Sophronios, John Choremes and others. We also observe the love and respect of Father Nectarios towards his superiors and subordinates, elements which prove his profound spirituality and erudition.

5. The Administrative Work of Archimandrite Nectarios

Among Saint Nectarios' numerous activities and responsibilities were included in his efforts to collect money from donations and contributions, for the iconography of the church of Saint Nicholas¹⁰⁴ in Cairo which began in 1887. Nectarios

¹⁰⁴St. Nicholas Church at Hamzaoui in Cairo was erected in 1839 under the supervision of Patriarch Hierotheos of Alexandria, with the donations of the Christians from Russia and Egypt. Therefore, the whole Patriarchate moved to this quarter-district. At the

commissioned the iconographer E. Armenopoulos in 1888 for the following icons: the four Evangelists at the four points of the dome of the church, the Annunciation, the Prophets in the arch above the Holy Altar, the Enthroned Christ, the Holy Trinity, Christ blessing the loaves, and above the doors of the North and South entrance the Beatitudes, and the Palm-carriers. That iconography had been achieved through an agreement between Nectarios and Armenopoulos. This event is recorded in a contract which was signed by the above persons that same year in Cairo.¹⁰⁵ Nectarios' concern for the iconography of the above church is witnessed in his 115th Catechetical Letter of October 21, 1907 to the Sisterhood of the Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina. In that letter, the Saint mentions a dream that he had concerning Saint Nicholas of Lycia..¹⁰⁶

On November 9, 1886, a letter which was sent from Patriarch Sophronios to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais dealt with the renewal of the Patriarchate in Cairo, the care of which had been taken over by Nectarios:

When we auspiciously reached our Patriarchate here by the mercy of God", Sophronios mentioned in his letter, "we found those living in the Patriarchate were well. We found the buildings restored magnificent All this was done through the tireless care and supervision of Archimandrite Nectarios who had

same time, all the Patriarchal institutions which in the past were in the Monastery of Saint George in Old Cairo, that is, hospital, nursing home, and asylum for the poor, were replaced with new buildings next to Saint Nicholas Church. [E. Souloyannis, "Ελληνική παρουσία στό Κάιρο τόν 180 καί τόν 190 αιώνα," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 83 (1991) 40].

¹⁰⁵Also, the signatures of the Christians who made donations towards the ikonography are recorded in another book. [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)', (Athens, 1985) 43].

¹⁰⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικά' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης (Athens, 1984) 222.

Evangelos Sinaios as his collaborator ... tomorrow the repair of the opposite building will begin.¹⁰⁷

In the letter dating August 16, 1887 which Patriarch Sophronios addressed from Leros to Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevai, the following was reported:

Archimandrite N. Kephalas writes to us about how well he is and all who are in the Patriarchate. However, he briefly writes that in the crypt of Saint George they found a great number of old icons. They are understood to be ecclesiastical icons of great value according to the opinion of the archaeologist Keramefs (unknown to us) which he transferred to the Patriarchate. He then cleaned up a place in a room, only these things, he gives no further explanations to whom he was answering and writing by the enclosed letter about what is needed.¹⁰⁸

Gerasimos M. Mazarakis in an article, refers to that event by the following:

These icons had ceased to be useful in worship long ago, we mean that the older icons had been accumulated in a crypt carved in a wall of the tower, like the cistern which had a small hole in the chapel of the Holy Forty Martyrs. The largest of them, as the icons of Gorgoepikoos, Saint Catherine, the whole icons of the iconostasis of the temple and others, from the facade of the temple In this way they had these things until the August of 1887, when we went over

107 "Φθάσαντες αἰσίως, θείψ ἐλέω, εἰς τά ἐνταῦθα Πατριαρχεῖα μᾶς, εὑρομεν τούς ἐν τοῖς Πατριαρχείοις καλῶς ἔχοντας εὗρομεν δέ καὶ μιά δκέλαν νεοστί κατασκευασθεῖσα μεγαλοπρεπήν 'Ἐγένετο δέ τῇ ἀόκνῳ ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ ἐπιστασίᾳ τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίου Νεκταρίου ἔχοντος συνεργάτην καὶ τὸν Εὐάγγελον Σιναῖο ... ἀπό αὔριον θ' ἀρχίσομεν τὴν ἐπιδιόρθωσιν τῆς ἀπέναντι ὁκέλας"

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.

108 "Ο Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Ν. Κεφαλᾶς μᾶς γράφη ὅτι καλά αὐτός τε καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς Πατριαρχείοις. Λέγη δέ με όλιγας λέξεις ὅτι ἐν τινί ύπογείῳ τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου εὗρον πληθύν εἰκόνων παλαιῶν. Ἐννοήται ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀξίας μεγάλης κατά τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἀρχαιολόγου Κεραμέως (ἀγνώστου εἰς Ἡμᾶς) τάς ὅποιας μετέφερεν εἰς τά Πατριαρχεῖα, τάς ἐκαθάρησε καὶ τάς ἐτοποθέτησεν εἰς ἓν δωμάτιον, ταῦτα μόνον καὶ χωρίς νά ἐξηγήται περισσότερον, πρός ὄντας ἀπαντῶντες τῷ γράφομεν διά τοῦ ἐσωκλείστου τά δέοντα."

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.

with the erudite Archimandrite Mr. Nectarios Kephalas and the distinguished scholar Mr. Papadopoulos Keramefs desiring to see the icon of Gorgoepikoos, in Old Cairo, where he was resolved to transport all the old icons to the Patriarchate that were to be cleaned and hung in a room. Those icons that were not used and had become worthless for worship because of the faded paint, left no trace because of the many years of the accumulation of dust, dirt, and flies. We did this ourselves, Archimandrite Nectarios and the Deacon Theophanis, later Metropolitan of Tripolis. We very carefully removed the dust and dirt from the icons. Continuing that work, we discovered that the icons that had been rejected in the crypt and some others which had been used for making incense or were used for the Holy Myrrh in Passion Week, were of real archaeological importance. After cleaning them, they were placed in one of the Patriarchal rooms, by the order of the Patriarch, as a precaution from dampness. We prepared that room as a chapel of Gorgoepikoos, and we put them in there ...¹⁰⁹

A chapter of the administrative work of Saint Nectarios was his collaboration with his clergy colleagues. The Saint was responsible both for the appointment of the Greek-speaking and Arabic-speaking priests and their activities exercised in the whole periphery of the Patriarchal Warden of Cairo, where he was the chief. From the minutes of the meetings of the Warden and from his correspondence, we learn how he behaved towards his subordinates. Undoubtedly, he always showed them his love. In almost all his letters, one can see his interest and his concern for them and for their families. The Saint tried to conceal from the Patriarch their weaknesses and their shortcomings, as in the case of Deacon Ignatius, when the people of Leros signed a report against him, for an unknown reason, in order to send it to the Patriarch. The Saint

¹⁰⁹G. Mazarakis, *Σημειώσεις περί τῶν ἐν τῇ κατά τό Παλαιόν Κάΐρον Ἱερά Μονή τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου εὑρεθεισῶν ἀρχαίων εἰκόνων* (Cairo, 1888) 14-15.

then wrote to the Patriarchal Warden of Alexandria, the Metropolitan Matthaios, asking him not to present this report to the Patriarch.¹¹⁰ But, in some cases, he himself asked the interference of Patriarch Sophronios to settle a problem, as it happened for the Arabic-speaking Priest David, who asked a high remuneration for his services to the Patriarchate office in Cairo. Then the Saint wrote again to Metropolitan Matthaios, asking him to send another Arabic-speaking priest and a Greek one, and his request was accepted by Sophronios.¹¹¹

The administrative work of Saint Nectarios comprises also his care for the official visits of the Patriarch to Cairo¹¹², for the registration of new members of the Greek Community in Cairo¹¹³, the organization of ceremonies in honor of various personalities¹¹⁴, the representation of the Patriarch to reception for politicians, statesmen, and other official people¹¹⁵. He staffed with cadres the schools of the Greek Community of Cairo and cared for their good operation¹¹⁶, he assumed the capacity of the President of the Church Court¹¹⁷ etc..

¹¹⁰E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149.

¹¹¹Ἐκτακτη συνεδρίασις ἐν τῷ Συνοδικῷ, τῆς Πέμπτης 4 Σεπτεμβρίου 1886 (No. 80), Ἐλληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν Ἔτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 78. See also, E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149.

¹¹²Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1526 (March 5, 1887) 211.

¹¹³Τακτική συνεδρίασις Σάββατον – Σεπτεμβρίου 1886 (No. 85), Ἐλληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν Ἔτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 83.

¹¹⁴Ἐπιστολή πρός τὸν Πρόξενον τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἣς εἰδοποιούμεν ὅτι ἡ δοξολογία τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου θάψαλλῇ τὴν Δευτέραν τὴν 10 ὥραν, Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1615 (April 15, 1888) 227.

¹¹⁵See the letter that Saint Nectarios sent from Cairo to the Metropolitan Matthew of Thivais, dated October 2, 1886. [E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149].

¹¹⁶See the letter that Saint Nectarios sent from Cairo to the Metropolitan Matthew of Thivais, dated August 21, 1886. [E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149]. See also, Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1478 (October 3/15, 1886) 203; No. 1557 (June 18, 1887) 211.

¹¹⁷Archives of the Patriarchal Library of Cairo.

Saint Nectarios was particularly interested in the financial management of the Community of Cairo and in the collection of money to cover the deficit of its treasury. His efforts consisted in: a) the receipt of the annual contributions paid by the members of the Community, b) the pursuit of financial assistance by the Patriarchal-Warden of Alexandria, C) the decrease of the taxes or the discharge from taxes (to be paid by the Community), on the basis of its assets, d) the collection of money by organizations of philanthropic theater performances and dances, e) the research of free granting of land from the state in order to erect buildings of the Community, as churches and schools, f) the safeguarding of the Community property from shrewd embezzlers and trespassers etc..

Concerning the six solutions proposed and acted by Saint Nectarios in order to cover the Community deficit, we can say more for each one of them. This deficit is mentioned many times in the meetings of the Board of the Cairo Community. More particularly, in the Minutes of the extraordinary meeting of November 6, 1886, the following sentence is noted: "The Treasury is empty and money is needed."¹¹⁸ In an undated meeting between March 31 and May 21, 1887, it was said that "it is urgently needed that the annual contributions be immediately received in order to cover the deficit of the Treasury."¹¹⁹ In the extraordinary meeting of December 21, 1887, the Treasurer announced that the "Treasury of the Community owes there is no money in the Treasury."¹²⁰ In the extraordinary meeting of April 18, 1888, the President of the meeting Saint

¹¹⁸ Εκτακτη Συνεδρίασις τῆς Τρίτης 9 Νοεμβρίου 1886 (No. 96), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 93-94.

¹¹⁹ Συνεδρίασις ἀχρονολόγητη μεταξύ 31 Μαρτίου καὶ 9/21 Μαΐου 1887 (No. 107), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, No. 105.

¹²⁰ Εκτακτη Συνεδρίασις τῆς 9/21 Δεκεμβρίου 1887 (No. 126), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 124.

Nectarios announced the "terrible condition of the Treasury."¹²¹ Finally, in the extraordinary meeting of July 18, 1888, Saint Nectarios proposed the substitution of the Treasurer Gerasimos Mazarakis whom the Board considered as guilty for the deficit, because of his "negligence."¹²² Saint Nectarios finally assumed the whole responsibility for the deficit, when on March 11, 1890, a few months before his leaving the Church of Alexandria, Patriarch Sophronios noted, in his own handwriting, in the Books of Extraordinary Events of the Alexandria Patriarchate "To the deficit of the Office of Cairo administration by Nectarios, piasters 14.093."¹²³ I do not know the exact reasons of this deficit but, I believe it is due to the works of construction and renovation of the buildings of the Community and the Patriarchate, as well as the accumulation of previous deficits. I will speak of this last deficit in the next chapter.

The first proposed solution of the receipt of the annual contributions from the members of the Community consisted in the collection of money for the distribution of relief to the poor and the erection of the Poor-house and the Greek Hospital of Cairo. According to the Community's Regulations only those who paid their contribution were allowed to take part in the general assemblies of the Community Board.¹²⁴

121 "Εκτακτη Συνεδρίασις τῆς 18 Απριλίου 1888 (No. 130), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 129.

122 "Εκτακτη Συνεδρίασις τῆς 6/18 Ιουλίου 1888 (No. 135), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 132-133.

123 Α' Βιβλίον 'Εκτάκτων 1886-1889 τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Αλεξανδρείας, (March 11, 1890).

124 Τακτική Συνεδρίασις Σάββατον - Σεπτεμβρίου 1886 (No. 85), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 83. See also, "Εκτακτη Συνεδρίασις τῆς Τρίτης 9 Νοεμβρίου 1886 (No. 96), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 93-94. See also, Συνεδρίασις ἀχρονολόγητη μεταξύ 31 Μαρτίου καὶ 9/21 Μαΐου 1887 (No. 107), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών' Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 105.

As a second solution, the Saint considered the bequest of money from the Alexandria Patriarchate. In his letters of August 1 and October 5, 1887, which he sent to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevai, the Saint complained of a great financial need, because of which he was unable to obtain even the "expenses for food." For this reason he requested the Bishop to transfer to him a bill of exchange for the payment of the debts of the Cairo Patriarchal Warden.¹²⁵ By his letters to the Egyptian Government, Saint Nectarios asked the decrease of the discharge from the taxes due by the Community for its real assets.¹²⁶

One of the most favorable solutions for the financial assistance to the Community was the organization of a "beneficial performance," a "Theatre Performance" or a "Dance." In the extraordinary meeting of November 9, 1886, the Board of the Community decided to "conduct the annual performance in favor of the Community or a dance, if more profitable."¹²⁷ In the Registry of Correspondence of the Patriarchate, we see that Saint Nectarios addressed his application of December 29, 1886, to the Minister of Public Works in Egypt, Abd-al-Rahman-Rusdey Pasha, by which he requested that he be granted the Great Theater of Cairo for the Community performance on 17/29 January 1887.¹²⁸

¹²⁵E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 150.

¹²⁶Τακτική Συνεδρίασις Σάββατον 16/28 Οκτωβρίου 1886 (No. 86), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 86. See also, Τακτική Συνεδρίασις Σάββατον 4 Οκτωβρίου 1886 (No. 87), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 84-85. See also, "Εκτακτη συνεδρίασις Τρίτη 4/16 Μαρτίου 1887 (No. 103), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 101.

¹²⁷(No. 96), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 93-94.

¹²⁸Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1499 (December 29, 1886) 207.

Another way used by the Saint in collaboration with the members of the Community for the erection of public profit works of the Patriarchate and the Community in Cairo was the request for land to the Egyptian Authorities to be used for these projects. In the Correspondence Protocol of the Alexandria Patriarchate, there is evidence of two letters of the Saint, dated March 2, 1887, to the Ambassador of Russia in Constantinople and to Halim Pasha, by which land is requested for the erection of a greeting house and school in the suburb Erekia of Cairo of the Greek Community under organization.¹²⁹

The Saint, in his wish to prevent and avoid making recourse to the civil courts for the trial of cases for trespassing the Community of Patriarchal property in Cairo, to reduce expense used various methods of threats against the trespassers and embezzlers of this property. More particularly, the first step was to send them a letter with specific recommendations. In case they did not comply, he called them to his office to discuss the problem, and if they did not change their attitude, he sent them a summons or an official notification and asked the interference of the Patriarch for the solution of the problem,¹³⁰ or he assigned the case to the Greek lawyer of the Patriarchate, G. Athanassakis.¹³¹ From the extraordinary meeting of the Community Board, that took place on 9/21 December 1887, with Patriarch Sophronios as president, G. Athanassakis informed the members of the meeting that the

¹²⁹ Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1518 (March 2, 1887) 211. Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων, No. 1523 (March 2, 1887) 211.

¹³⁰ Saint Nectarios' letter from Cairo to Metropolitan Matthew of Thivais, of August 30, 1886, E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149.

¹³¹ Τακτική συνεδρίασις τῆς 9/21 Ιανουαρίου 1888 (No. 127), 'Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 125.

problem which had arisen from the claiming of property of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and Constantinople, may be given a solution by the representative of the Egyptian Government, Butros Pasha, to whom the Saint was sent together with a member of the Community Board.¹³²

Easier cases were assigned to Saint Nectarios by the Patriarch and the Community Board, as the renovation of the Community building after its destruction by a fire in February 1887, that also caused damage to the nearby Patriarchal apartments.¹³³ The repairs were performed, and the cost that reached 1665 Egyptian piastres was covered by the construction of a storehouse to be leased.¹³⁴ The Saint was also charged with the arrangement of a proper space to serve as the office of the Community within the Patriarchate.¹³⁵

6. Nectarios' Election and Ordination to the Episcopate

Patriarch Sophronios watched Nectarios' spiritual work with special interest, thinking how he could reward him for his labors. Therefore, on January 15, 1889, three years after his ordination to the presbyterate, Patriarch Sophronios ordained the "Blessed and learned among the sacred monks and Archimandrites, Mr. Nectarios Kephalas as Metropolitan to ancient See of the Metropolitan of

¹³² Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, No. 125, p. 122.

¹³³ Εκτακτη συνεδρίασις τῆς Τρίτης 3/15 Φεβρουαρίου 1887 (No. 101), Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 98-99.

¹³⁴ Εκτακτη συνεδρίασις τῆς Τρίτης 4/16 Μαρτίου 1887 (No. 103), Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 101.

¹³⁵ Τακτική Συνεδρίασις τῆς 21 Νοεμβρίου 1887 (No. 123), Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών Έτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 121.

Pentapolis, according to the succession of the late Neilos Kallipolitis, Metropolitan of Pentapolis."¹³⁶

As the Patriarchate of Alexandria had no Prelates at that time, because of the death of Alexandria's Patriarchal Warden, the Metropolitan Matthaios Vallinakes of Thevai, and the dismissal from the Throne of Patriarchal Warden of Cairo, the Metropolitan Ignatius of Libya, the aforementioned election and ordination of Saint Nectarios and the new Metropolitan Germanos Vourlalides of Thevai was made by Patriarch Sophronios and two Prelates provisionally residing there at that time, the Archbishop of Sinai Porphyrios I^ο and the Archbishop Antonios Hariatis of Corfu.¹³⁷

The Cyrenian Pentapolis, found in Libya and established from the Ptolemaians, consisted the towns Cyrene, Verenike, Ptolemais, Arsinoe, and Apollonias. It is known that has flourished in the Hellenistic ages. As far as Ecclesiastical History is concerned the Bishop of Pentapolis and the Bishops of Egypt and Libya were considered commissioners of the Patriarch of Alexandria, so that all the Metropolitan duties were conducted by the Patriarch himself. So, when the Diocese of Pentapolis declined, the Patriarchate of Alexandria knowing how important it had formerly been, elevated its occupants to holders of a titular see, as was done with Saint Nectarios. The Metropolis where Saint Nectarios was elected was

¹³⁶ The record of Saint Nectarios' election to the Metropolis of Pentapolis is inscribed to the 66th Codex of the Patriarchate of Alexandria (pp. 394-395).

¹³⁷ In the letter that Patriarch Sophronios addressed from Cairo to the Priest Seraphim Phokas in Port-Said, dated January 16, 1889, is referring to the ordination of Saint Nectarios to the prelate as following:

"Αἰσίως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιτελέσαντες χθές τήν χειροτονίαν τοῦ τέως Αρχιμανδρίτου Νεκταρίου εἰς Μητροπολίτην Πενταπόλεως. Προτιθέμεθα νά κατέλθωμεν τήν προσεχή Πέμπτην μέ τό τρένο τῶν δύο Μ.Μ. μετά τοῦ κ. Κερκύρας. Πρό Ήμῶν θά κατέλθῃ καὶ ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Σινᾶ δι' ὑποθέσεις τοῦ".

"an ancient See," which means that the Saint was a titular Metropolitan.¹³⁸

In the personal records of Saint Nectarios in the Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina, there is the confession of his Orthodox Faith with the inscription "Nectarios by the grace of God candidate of the Holy Metropolis of Pentapolis proposed by me" and at the end the words "Nectarios by the grace of God Metropolitan of the Most Holy Metropolis of Pentapolis, established by me."¹³⁹ The fact of the consecration of Saint Nectarios as Metropolitan of Pentapolis was published in the ecclesiastical press of Athens and Constantinople, according to the papers "Σωτήρ" and "Ἐκκλησιαστική" Αλήθεια.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸Archbishop Chr. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας* (62-1934) (Athens, 1985) 474-476; J. Hatzifotis, "Τά Πρακτικά ἐκλογῆς καὶ χειροτονίας σέ ἐπίσκοπο τοῦ Ἅγιου Νεκταρίου Αἰγίνης – Δύο κείμενα τοῦ 1899," *Ιστορία Είκονογραφημένη* 264) (Athens) (June, 1990) 126-127.

¹³⁹At the personal Archive of Saint Nectarios in Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina is preserved the Confession of his Orthodox Faith, which has in the begining the following inscription: "Νεκτάριος ἐλέω Θεοῦ ὑποψήφιος τῆς Ἀγιωτάτης Μητροπόλεως Πενταπόλεως ἵδια χειρί προέταξα," and at the end the words: "Νεκτάριος ἐλέω Θεοῦ τῆς Ἀγιωτάτης Μητροπόλεως Πενταπόλεως ἰδία χειρίσυνέταξα".

Μητρ. Τ. Μαθαιάκη, *Ο Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως* (1846-1920), (Αθήναι, 1985), σελ. 44.

¹⁴⁰"Ειδήσεις," *Σωτήρ* (Athens) 10 (May, 1889) 159. See also, "Ἐκκλησία Ἀλεξανδρείας," *Ἐκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* (Constantinople) 9 (February 8, 1889) 114; 9 (April 5, 1889) 178.

In 1989 the 100th anniversary of the consecration of Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis to Prelate was celebrated with a great magnificence in various places of Greece. The celebration started in Athens, on the Sunday of the Orthodoxy, the 19th March 1989. In the church of Saint George of Rizareios Seminary, in Halandri, the Holy Liturgy of Evangelist Mark was celebrated in its archaic form on the basis of the adaption made in June 1890 by Saint Nectarios with the text of Meletios Pegas. After the liturgy, the former Director of Rizareios Seminary, the Archimandrite Nectarios Kotzias spoke about "The Hundredth Anniversary of the Prelate Service of Saint Nectarios in Church, Education, Theology and Letters." Then, the Protopresbyter Sarantos Sarantou developed the subject: "The rich offer of Saint Nectarios to the Church and to the State." Similar manifestations took place in the Youth Center of Saint Paraskevi in Nea Smyrni, on January 30, 1989. After the introduction by Panayotis Strongylis, with the subject: "Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis - 100 years of archiepiscopal Service," the Sunday School groups of the Parish presented in five acts the life of Saint Nectarios. Also, a group of girls from the Primary School of the Parish chanted hymns from the Theotokarion of Saint Nectarios, the "Hymn to the Divine Love" and praises to Saint Nectarios. The text of the sketch were written by P. Strongylis as well as the music arrangement of the hymns. In the Holy Pilgrimage of Saint Nectarios in Kamariza, Attika, festive performances took place on January 25th, 1989. The Most Rev. Metropolitan Agathonikos of Messogheia and Lavreotike spoke with following

The Saint's position was in Cairo from which he continued to minister as the Dean of the Patriarchal Office, Patriarchal Commissioner, and Ecclesiastical Administrator. He also cared for the property interests of the Patriarchate and for its restoration without payment.¹⁴¹ In addition, he arranged a list and classified the archaeological icons in the Monastery of Saint George in Old Cairo, and he registered everything in the Archives of the Saint Nicholas Patriarchal church in Cairo.¹⁴²

In the Regulations of Saint Nicholas of Cairo and more particularly in articles c, d, and i, we are informed about some further liturgical and administrative duties of Saint Nectarios. When the Saint acted as Patriarchal Warden, he officiated together with the chief of the church who always accompanied him when he was invited to the "Holy Sacraments" at home for marriages and baptisms, as well as funeral services. The Dean of Saint Nicholas assisted the Patriarchal Warden in the management of the office, being present each time in the Church Court and undertaking those cases that the Director of Saint Nicholas assigned to him. When the Saint was absent, he was substituted by the director of Saint

subject: "The Saint of our Century." The greeting of Archimandrite Nectarios Vitales, the founder of the Holy Pilgrimage, followed, and the Association of the Friends of Byzantine Music of Lavrio chanted Byzantine Hymns. On 13 February 1989, in the Cultural Centre of Annunciation church in Chalkis/Euboia, the Association of the People of Chalkis organised a performance and Dr. Leonidas Pavlou spoke with the following subject: "Saint Nectarios, Metropolitan of Pentapolis as preacher of Euboia." Similar performances took place during the same year in the Chapel of Apostle Paul in the School of Theology in Athens, where the Divine Liturgy of Evangelist Mark was celebrated and Professor of the Theological School of Athens, Rev. Fr. George Metallenos, spoke, and also in Saint Nicholas church in Cairo, where the speaker was the Metropolitan Titos of Leontopolis.

¹⁴¹From what I found and read during my research in the Archives of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, I did not see written anywhere, that the Saint received any salary.

¹⁴²Metr. T. Matthaiakis, ΌΑγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 52-53.

Nicholas, as director of the matters of the Office, assisted by the Secretary on duty.¹⁴³

7. The Pastoral Work of Metropolitan Nectarios

The pastoral work of Saint Nectarios during this period is issued from the Minutes of the Hellenic Community of Cairo, where we see his management of various cases, such as divorces, adoptions of children, benevolent works etc.. More particularly, four court decisions issued by the Saint are interesting from the pastoral point of view. We see the efforts of the Saint for compromise, and that is why in cases which for us the proposed solution might have been divorce, the Saint used various pastoral means to keep the spouses united, as happened at the court decision of November 6, 1899.¹⁴⁴ Also, in the Minutes No. 646 of the court decision of February 17, 1889, the Saint reported that the wife accused the husband of ill treatment and wasting of her personal property. The Saint rejected the proposed issue of divorce and ordered her to pay the court costs.¹⁴⁵

It is interesting to see the Minutes 841 of the court decision of April 20, 1890, according to which the wife filed a petition for a divorce, accusing her husband "for accusations against her honor and repute, and complete abandonment and lack of care for his family."¹⁴⁶ Saint Nectarios considered as premeditated the refusal of the husband to appear before the Court of the Patriarchate, although summoned. Before the final court decision on the

¹⁴³ Κανονισμός Ἱεραπικός τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχικοῦ Ναοῦ τοῦ Ἅγίου Νικολάου (Cairo, 1892) 3, 4-5.

¹⁴⁴ Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, p. 179.

¹⁴⁵ Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, pp. 143-144.

¹⁴⁶ Κώδιξ Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, p. 213.

dissolution of the marriage, Nectarios informed the Court for the pastoral measures he took in order to save this marriage. Having seen that these measures did not have the results he expected, because of the bad behavior¹⁴⁷ of the husband, he issued the divorce.¹⁴⁷

On September 1899 the Patriarchal Court met with Saint Nectarios as President, in public hearing, in order to judge on the petition for a divorce of a husband against his wife, with the accusation that she had worked in a brothel. The Court having heard the parties was convinced that "the wife had lived ^a_^ free and wholly corrupted life, and that she had lived for three years in a Beer house"¹⁴⁸ and ordered measures. The attitude of Saint Nectarios towards the child of this family was touching. The measures taken ^{were}_^ intended to the protection of the child to ensure for him the proper conditions for living in a moral environment. The same judgment mentioned the mother's decision to change her way of living. By meetings of this kind, Saint Nectarios aimed to change the minds of the parties, to change their way of living in the interests of their family.

Saint Nectarios' love for the young is proved by the two following actions: He ^{was}_^ charged with the adoption of a three-year-old child to the adoptive parents, recommending to them, during the establishment of the Minutes of Adoption:

.... to adopt and bring up this child as their own child, and the parents cede the rights of adoption on all their estate as if this child had been their natural child, and the child will have their name.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Κώδιξ Ε ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, pp. 213-214.

¹⁴⁸ Minutes of the Ecclesiastical Court of September 25, 1889, (No. 737) Κώδιξ Ε ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, pp. 172-173.

¹⁴⁹ Minutes of adoption, (No. 627) Κώδιξ Ε ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890, p. 136.

The pastoral care of Saint Nectarios for the young is also shown by the letter of July 21, 1892, that the Canon of the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria Dorotheos addressed to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones. We are informed from this letter that the Saint placed a young lady under the protection of a rich man.¹⁵⁰

The pastoral care of the Saint was also expressed toward his colleagues, the clergymen, whom he visited in their houses and their communities,¹⁵¹ and to whom he offered hospitality in Cairo.¹⁵² In the known correspondence of Saint Nectarios, concerning the five-year period of 1885-1890, one can see that in all his letters, he shows his interest for his fellow Clergymen, whom he called "brothers," regardless of their position and rank.

8. The Writings of this Period

1) A Sermon on the Feast of the Three Hierarchs

A few days after his ordination as Metropolitan Saint Nectarios represented Patriarch Sophronios in speaking at the Achillopouleion School for girls in Cairo, on January 30, 1889, a *Sermon on the Feast of the Three Hierarchs*.¹⁵³ This sermon, which was dedicated to the noble Mr. Evangelos Achilopoulos, patron of

¹⁵⁰E.L.I.A., Archives of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 237.

¹⁵¹In the letter of Rev. Seraphim Phokas, dated September 10, 1889, which was sent from Port-Said to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thivais, is mentioned the hospitality that was offered to Saint Nectarios from Phokas. [E.L.I.A., Archives of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 152].

¹⁵²In Saint Nectarios' letter of September 16, 1889, to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thivais, he talks about the hospitality he offered to a priest called Polycarp in Cairo. [E.L.I.A., Archives of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149].

¹⁵³Metr. N. Kephalas, Λόγος ἐκφωνηθείς ἐν τῷ Ἀχιλλοπουλείῳ Παρθεναγωγείῳ κατά τὴν Ἑορτὴν τῶν Τριών Ἱεραρχῶν (Alexandria, 1889).

the Achillopouleion School for girls, of the Committee in Cairo,¹⁵⁴ was published in the same year (1889) in Alexandria by the author.

At the beginning of his sermon, Metropolitan Nectarios explained why the trinity of the saintly Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom, were considered as the "patrons of enlightened education and protectors of Education." In continuing, he divided his sermon into two parts. The first one under the subtitle, "Man is naturally a religious being," and the second one under the subtitle "Concerning the manner of the formation of man, that is concerning religious training of children. Continuing, the Saint used as an example the model mothers of the Three Hierarchs, and he ends by congratulating the founder of the Achillopouleion School for the rich and beneficial activity of his institution, wishing other rich Greeks to also imitate his example.¹⁵⁵

2) The Divine Liturgy of the Evangelist Mark

Among the remaining works of Saint Nectarios which have been saved in his personal archive, in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Aegina, is also *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Glorious Apostle and Evangelist Mark*, which was rewritten by the Saint himself from the manuscript Codices of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in Cairo, June 1, 1890,¹⁵⁶ a little before his expulsion from Egypt. The Liturgy of the Evangelist Mark was written in the fifth century and constitutes a development of the ancient Egyptian

¹⁵⁴Metr. N. Kephalas, Λόγος ἐκφωνηθείς ἐν τῷ Ἀχιλλοπούλειῳ Παρθεναγωγείῳ κατά τήν Εορτήν τῶν Τριάδον Ιεραρχῶν (Alexandria, 1889) 1.

¹⁵⁵Metr. N. Kephalas, Λόγος ἐκφωνηθείς ἐν τῷ Ἀχιλλοπούλειῳ Παρθεναγωγείῳ κατά τήν Εορτήν τῶν Τριάδον Ιεραρχῶν (Alexandria, 1889) 4-17.

¹⁵⁶Metr. N. Kephalas, "Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Ἅγιου ἐνδόξου Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Μάρκου," Θεολογία (Athens) 26 (1955) 14-36.

Liturgy. In the text of the Liturgy, Metropolitan Nectarios made various footnotes and corrections, and also commented on the text of the manuscript of Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria from 1583 to 1601 from which the Saint had also made extracts. Inserted in the beginning of the Liturgy was a preface by Metropolitan Nectarios which outlined the place of discovery and the shape of the book in which the Liturgy is written. Also there was a note from Amphilochios of Pilousion.¹⁵⁷

3) An Outline on Tolerance

A little before his expulsion from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, Metropolitan Nectarios republished the writing of Evgenios Voulgaris, in Alexandria in 1890 *An Outline on Tolerance*.¹⁵⁸ In the republication of 1890, the Saint added his own notes, and he also explain the reasons for which he proceeded with an exact reprint of the first edition: "Firstly because the work being of so much value became very scarce, secondly because ... we consider it very beneficial reading, for its interior value is indisputable, and the so reasonably assembled evidence, is very wonderful, these are factors not usually found in secular and sacred literature."¹⁵⁹

4) Correspondence

¹⁵⁷ Metr. N. Kephalas, "Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Ἀγίου ἐνδόξου Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Μάρκου," Θεολογία (Athens) 26 (1955) 14-15, 36.

^{23.} Metr. N. Kephalas, *Εὐγενίου Βουλγάρεως Σχεδίασμα περί ἀνεξιθρησκείας* (Alexandria, 1890).

¹⁵⁸ Metrop. N. Kephalas, *Εὐγενίου Βουλγάρεως Σχεδίασμα περί ἀνεξιθρησκείας* (Alexandria, 1890) 80-81.

¹⁵⁹ Deacon Cl. Strongylis, Δύο ἀνέκδοτες ἐπιστολές τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως πρός τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Σιναίου Πορφύριο τὸν Α' in Newspaper "Phos" (Volume 42) (Cairo: 21. 2. 1992), p. 4.

As I previously mentioned in my research at the Archives of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and of Holy Monastery of Sinai, three more original letters of Metropolitan Nectarios of Pentapolis were discovered. Because of their importance I will talk briefly about them.

The first letter was sent from Cairo to Archbishop Porphyrios I of Sinai on April 21, 1889¹⁶⁰, to whom Metropolitan Nectarios forwarded the petition of his friend Nicholaos Ambet, as he was able to include him among the members of the inspectorate of the Ambetios School. The second letter dated September 16, 1889¹⁶¹ was sent from Cairo to Metropolitan Germanos Vourlalides, successor of the late Matthaios Vallinakes, and referred to administrative matters of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The third letter, as we mentioned previously, addressed to George Averof, president of the Greek Orthodox Committee in Alexandria, dated May 23, 1889¹⁶², referred to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Patriarch Sophronios' prelacy.

9. The Administrative Work of Metropolitan Nectarios

In addition to the pastoral activities of the Saint, it is interesting to see his administrative work as Prelate. From the information given by the Minutes of the Community, we are informed about the meeting of the Board that took place on March 5,

¹⁶⁰Deacon Cl. Strongylis, *Ανέκδοτα στοιχεία από τη δράση του Αγ. Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως στο Πατριαρχείο Αλεξανδρείας* in Periodical "Orthodox Herald" (Volumes 38-39) (London: Nov.-Dec. 1991), p. 21.

¹⁶¹E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149.

¹⁶²E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149.

1889, under the presidency of the Patriarch Sophronios, in order to elect a twelve member of the Board.¹⁶³

With the collaboration of these persons, the Saint continued his ministration as the Patriarchal Warden of Cairo, and during his time of service the renovation works of the Patriarchal apartments in Cairo as well as the painting and decoration of Saint Nicholas church were completed. When Patriarch Sophronios was in Cairo in May 1890, he addressed an encyclical to his flock in which he talked about the work done in Cairo by the Patriarchal Committee. In this he reported the following:

.... we recently restored the Patriarchate both externally and internally and Saint Nicholas church in Cairo. Through our efforts and the noble contributions of the devotees, the church has become very beautiful. These are witnessed to by many which have been achieved in our Patriarchal labors and privations. We underwent these things with self denial, and also suffered for the glory and the celebration of Christ's Church and our race.¹⁶⁴

These renovation works were very expensive and big sums were paid that were collected after terrible deprivations of the Patriarchal Office in Cairo, which as reported above, was under a continuous financial crisis. Obviously, during the execution of these works, the Saint had not calculated some miscellaneous expenses, and he was accused for a deficit. In the Book of Extraordinary events of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the

¹⁶³ Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικών 'Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 144-145.

¹⁶⁴"....έσχάτως ἀμφότερα τά Πατριαρχεία ἔξωτερικῶς καὶ ἐσωτερικῶς καθωραίσαμεν καὶ τήν ἐν Καΐρῳ Εκκλησία τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου ἀναλώμασιν Ἡμῶν καὶ τῇ γενναῖᾳ συνδρομῇ τῶν εὐσεβῶν περικαλλεστάτην κατεστήσαμεν. Ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν τρανά εἰσὶ μαρτύρια τῶν πατρικῶν κόπων καὶ στερήσεων Ἡμῶν, ἃς μετ' ἀπαρνήσεως ὑπέστημεν καὶ ὑφιστάμεθα πρός δόξαν καὶ εὔκλειαν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Εκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Γένους Ἡμῶν".

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 128; E. Michailidis, 'Η Μονή τοῦ Αγίου Γεωργίου ἐν Παλαιῷ Καΐρῳ (Alexandria, 1936) 79.

Patriarch Sophronios wrote the following: "A deficit of the management of the Office in Cairo by Nectarios of Pentapolis, amounting to piasters 14.093 (March 11, 1890)"¹⁶⁵, without justifying the existence of the deficit. In order to see the real size of the deficit we can use a percentage of the total balance sheet of the Community of Cairo in 1890 that amounted to piasters 1.592.082.58.¹⁶⁶ This percentage is only the 1,1%, a minimum number in comparison with what now is called a considerable deficit.

Within the framework of Saint Nectarios' administrative duties is the correspondence he exchanged with various persons on matters of collaboration with the Community of Cairo and the Patriarchal Office, that are recorded in the bibliography. Also, his duties as the Patriarchal Warden comprised the representation of the Patriarch in various official celebrations, such as the reception of the princes of Egypt in the station of Cairo after an invitation of the Governor of the city¹⁶⁷, the establishment and issue of 395 documents as judgments, liquidations, letters of guarantee and marriage licenses, depositions of witnesses, powers of attorney, marriage contracts, acts of divorce, certificates of inheritance, summons, purchases, lease agreements, sales contracts, debit bonds, minutes of adoption etc..¹⁶⁸ The registration of the Christian Churches of Alexandria was cited by Saint Nectarios at that time,

¹⁶⁵ Α' Βιβλίον 'Εκτάκτων 1886-1889 τοῦ Πατριαρχείου 'Αλεξανδρείας.

¹⁶⁶ Λογοδοσία τῆς διάχειριστικῆς Επιτροπῆς τῆς ἐν Καΐρῳ Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Κοινότητος, Συνεδρίασις τῆς 6/18 Μαΐου 1890, Ἑλληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν 'Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, pp. 170-171.

¹⁶⁷ Ἑλληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν 'Ετῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 159.

¹⁶⁸ Κάδις Ε' ἀπό Μάρτ. 1887 μέχρι Απρίλ. 1890.

as we can read in a manuscript code of the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria.¹⁶⁹

In the framework of the activities of Metropolitan Nectarios, the participation of the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo had been included, which he led as Patriarchal Commissioner, in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the prelacy of Patriarch Sophronios. This event is witnessed to in the letter of May 23, 1889, which Metropolitan Nectarios addressed from Cairo, "To the President of the Hellenic Community of the Alexandrines, Mr. G. Averof in Alexandria. In his letter, the Saint of Pentapolis showed the following:

Mr. President, Answering your letter dated on the 10th of this month by which you let us know the decision of the Community Committee over which you preside that concerns the occasion to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the prelacy of His All-Holiness, our Venerable Father Patriarch Mgr. Sophronios. We announce to you that our Community is also animated by the same feelings and desires that represent the Orthodox public of the capital, in order to show its deep devotion and its endless respect towards the Chief Sacrificer of the Alexandrian Throne, have decided a few days ago to also celebrate this extraordinary feast here, with proper splendors as well.

Mr. President, accept the assurance of the excellent reputation by which we remain respectfully yours,

The Commissioner of the President of the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo

+ Nectarios of Pentapolis.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹Th. Moschonas, *Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης – Χειρόγραφα* 1 (Alexandria, 1945) 309.

¹⁷⁰"Πρός τὸν Πρόεδρον τῆς Ἑληνικῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων Κοινότητος Κύριον Γ.' Αβέρωφ Εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τῇ 23ῃ Μαΐου 1889.

Κύριε Πρόεδρε, Απαντώντες εἰς τὴν ἀπό ἡμερομηνίαν 10 τρέχ. ἐπιστολήν' Υμῶν, δι' ἣς μᾶς γνωστοποιεῖτε τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς τελευταίας συνεδρίας τῆς ἡς προϊστασθε' Επιτροπῆς τῆς Κοινότητος πρός πανηγυρισμόν τοῦ ἐκ τούτου γεγονότος τῆς ἀπό Ἀρχιερωσύνης Πεντηκονταετηρίδος τῆς Α.Θ.Π. τοῦ Γεραροῦ ὑμῶν Πατρός καὶ Πατριάρχου Κυρίου Κυρίου Σωφρονίου, ἀγγελάμιν Ὅμιν δι τοι καὶ ἡ Ἡμετέρα Κοινότης ὑπό τῶν αὐτῶν ὄρμουμένη αισθημάτων καὶ ὑπό τῶν αὐτῶν ἐμφορουμένη φρονημάτων καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ αὐτη ὡς

The Board of the Greek Orthodox Community of Cairo met three times for the establishment of the program for the festivities. In the meetings of May 21, May 24, and June 12, 1889, the members of the Board referred to the issue of a golden plate to be offered from the Community as a gift to Sophronios, for the issue of commemorative medals, for the unveiling ceremony of his bust, for the establishment of a list of contributions for the expenses of the festivities and for the issue of invitations, for the charging of speeches etc..¹⁷¹

Indeed, on June 29, 1889 according to the program of the Community of the Greek Orthodox Committee in Cairo, the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Patriarch Sophronios took place. In the afternoon on the same day the Christian crowd and the officials attended an enthusiastic reception during the arrival of the Patriarch at the railway station in Cairo. A reporter of that time remarked:

At the station, there was an exceptional and innumerable crowd. Among them were His Eminence of Pentapolis, His Eminence of Sinai, Prince Mourouzis, the Administrator of Cairo, several clergy, the Committee of the Community and Consuls and many others. The train arrived at 7.45 p.m. The Patriarch came out cheerfully, and the crowd vigorously cheered him. After the greeting, His Eminence of Pentapolis addressed him very emotionally. The Patriarch and the people were

ἀντιπροσωπεύοντα τό 'Ορθόδοξον κοινόν τῆς πρωτευούσης νά δείξη ἐναργῶς τήν ἄκραν ἀφοσίωσιν καὶ τόν ἄπειρον σεβασμόν πρός τόν 'Αρχιθύτην τοῦ 'Αλεξανδρινού Θρόνου ἀπεφάσισε πρό ήμερών ήδη νά πανηγυρίσῃ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μετά τῆς προσηκούσης λαμπρότητος τήν ἔκτακτον ταύτην ἑορτήν.

Δέξασθε Κύριε Πρόεδρε τήν διαβεβαίωσιν τῆς ἔξαιρέτου πρός Υμᾶς ὑπολήψεως ήμῶν μεθ ἡς διατελούμεν.

'Ο Επίτροπος τοῦ Προέδρου τῆς ἐν Καΐρῳ Ἑλλ. Ορθοδ. Κοινότητος
Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος.'

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 128.

¹⁷¹ Ελληνική Κοινότης Καΐρου APXEION Βιβλίον Πρακτικῶν Ἔτῶν 1885 μέχρι 1896, p. 153, 154, 155.

moved. The spectacle was majestic, especially during the procession to the Patriarchate. His All-Holiness climbed onto the magnificent four horse carriage. The throng flocked together in excess of eight thousand. The Liturgy was very soon celebrated by the Patriarch himself. After the ending of the Liturgy, the Patriarch mounted the throne and gave a speech with obvious emotion... . After they repeated their cheering, His Eminence of Pentapolis, and the Consuls of Greece and Russia unveiled the covered column. It was an obelisk about three or three and a half meters high. On the front, in the middle of the obelisk facing northward, was carved the profile of the Patriarch. After the unveiling of the obelisk, the Patriarch and the others went to the Synodical meeting place where the feast finished. The Patriarch left with great emotion in order to rest. The Committee in memory of the feast and as a seal of this, distributed medals having on one side the same inscription as the obelisk, and on the other side, the symbols of the throne and the superscription 'Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, Sophronios the Byzantine, 1839-1889.' The medal with the same superscription was offered to the Patriarch.¹⁷²

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the prelacy of the Patriarch Sophronios was described as above. The ability of Metropolitan Nectarios to organize such an important celebration, and his deep filial love and respect for his benefactor, the Patriarch, was proven by that event.

10. The Expulsion from Egypt

Metropolitan Nectarios exerted great efforts for the spiritual cultivation of his flock. Therefore, his knowledge and his morality very soon earned the appreciation, the love, and the respect of the notables of the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo, and of all the

¹⁷²K. Platoutsas, *Πεντηκονταετηρίς τῆς Ἀρχιερωσύνης τοῦ Πάπα καὶ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Κυρίου Σωφρονίου Δοῦ Βυζαντίου* (Athens, 1889) 18-20.

Christians of the local Churches. His fame began to spread slowly throughout all of Egypt. By his devotion, his ecclesiastical conscience, his extraordinary zeal, and many other virtues, the decent Metropolitan Nectarios developed a rich social and charitable work. He was distinguished for his disregard of money. Therefore, many people who knew him said, "Money and the Metropolitan of Pentapolis are two different things."¹⁷³

These virtues, which illuminated the hierarch of the Church of Alexandria, made all gaze with clear respect towards his person, and inwardly envision him as the worthy successor of the aged Patriarch Sophronios. The desire of the Greek Orthodox people did not find resonance in the patriarchal heart, but on the contrary, they disapproved. This was the reason for the beginning of the conflict which was created between the Patriarch, those surrounding him, and the Metropolitan. The correspondence that was exchanged at that time among the clergy of the Patriarchate of Alexandria informs us about the tension which existed concerning the relationship between Saint Nectarios and Patriarch Sophronios, even from the end of 1889.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστον Πατρός ἡμῶν καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αἰγαίῳ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 12.

¹⁷⁴A letter which was sent by the priest Seraphim Phokas from Port-Said to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Alexandria, dated December 12, 1889, informs us for the begining of this conflict. The letter says between others the following:

"Αυπούμαι πολύ διά τάς ἐν Καΐρω ἀνωμαλίας, λυπούμαι δέ ὅχι περί τοῦ Ἀγίου Πενταπόλεως παρ' οὐ μόνον εὐχαριστηση ἥλπιζα ὅτι θά παρείχεν εἰς τὴν Α. Θ. Παναγιότητα, ἀλλά μάλλον καὶ πρό πάντων περί τῆς Α. Θ. Παναγιότητος δόστις ἐδικαιοῦτο καὶ δικαιοῦται καὶ παρ' ὅλων μέν τῶν περί αὐτὸν νά ἀπολαμβάνει εὐχαριστήσεις, καὶ ἄνεσιν ἀντί ἐνοχλήσεων καὶ φροντίδων, πρό πάντων δέ παρ' ἔκεινων οὓς καὶ πλείονευηργέτησε· μολονότι δέ φρονώ ὅτι μέτρον τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἐκάστου, δέν πρέπει νά είναι ὁ βαθμός τῆς ὥφελείας, ἀλλά αὐτό τό καθῆκον καὶ ἡ ἀκριβής ἐκτέλεσις αὐτοῦ. Τοῦθ ὅπερ καὶ μόνον ἀπήτησε πάντοτε καὶ ἡ Α. Θ. Παναγιότης ο Τρισέβαστος ἡμῶν Πατήρ, ύπέρ οὐ εὔχομαι νά μή τῷ διθῇ ἀφορμήν νά ὑποπέσῃ εἰς σφοδράν καὶ ὀξείαν ἔχαψιν."

As Saint Nectarios was wholly irreproachable, those under the Patriarch's control, who could not suffer his fame and respect by the Christians, invented the calumny as the classical weapon against him. But this calumny became a source of grace for the Church of Greece later on.

Nectarios was able to interpret in the right way the injustice he suffered, and as he was a brave man, he could endure the grief caused to him. For the good of the Church he faced his personal trials with a admirable patience following the example of the Great Fathers of the Church. As it is known from other cases from his reverend life, he remained calm, full of love, praying for those who prosecuted him. The Library of the Patriarchate in Alexandria has the richest collection of writings by Saint Nectarios, that he personally sent to the Patriarch and his associates, many times with a hand written dedication. This proves his spiritual superiority, from the fact that he wished to maintain good relations with those who caused him such a grief. Nectarios was distinguished by his humility and did not appear to contemplate any measures of anticononical elevation to the Patriarchal Throne.

The result of the unfair war against Metropolitan Nectarios happened only sixteen months after his ordination as bishop, and it

Furthermore, in the letter of Seraphim Phokas, which was addressed from Port-Said on May 15, 1890, to the Archdeacon of the Alexandrian Throne, Constantine Pagones, somehow foretells the Saint's removal from Egypt, with these words:

"Αδελφέ Κωνσταντίνε, φῆμαι περὶ ἐνοχλήσεων δοθεισῶν καὶ πάλιν τῇ Α.Θ.Παναγιότητι, ἐν Καΐρῳ, καὶ περὶ διαστάσεως, ἵνα μή εἴπω ρήξεως τελείας, ἐπελθούσης μεταξύ τοῦ γεραροῦ Πατρός ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ 'Α. Πενταπόλεως, εμιθυρίσθησαν ἐνταῦθα. Καίπερ διστάζων περὶ τοῦ βασίμου αὐτῶν, λυποῦμαι ἀναλογιζόμενος ὅτι ὁ σεβαστός ἡμῶν Γέρων ἐνοχλεῖται ἐκεῖ, ἐνθα προσεδόκησεν, καὶ ἐδικαιοῦται νά προσδοκᾶ γαλήνην, καὶ εὐχαρίστησιν."

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 234.

Another letter that Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais sent from Cairo on May 29, 1890, to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones, mentioned the following:

"Ο"Αγιος Πενταπόλεως σήμερον τὸν εἶδον λίαν μεταβεβλημένον καὶ μέτριον εἰς τὰς ἀξιώσεις του καὶ μοί ἐφάνη παράδοξον, δ Θεός νά τόν φωτίσῃ."

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 234.

was confirmed on May 3, 1890, on the acceptance of the First Patriarchal Communication.¹⁷⁵ Those surrounding the Patriarch had achieved a double blow towards Metropolitan Nectarios. They had managed to slander the guiltless hierarch who seemed to plot against Sophronios' throne, they limited his commonly accepted pastoral activity, and confined him to his room.

The attitude of those in the Patriarchate became more cruel with a Second Patriarchal Communication which they sent to him two months after the first, and was confirmed on July 11, 1890. According to that, this refuted the content of the First Communication, and suggests that the stay of Metropolitan Nectarios in Egypt was useless.¹⁷⁶

Together with the Second Communication they sent him a certificate of discharge. According to its contents, the Metropolitan's inability to become acclimated ^{is} to Egypt was the reason he had to abandon his ministry in the Alexandrian Church and go to a foreign land.¹⁷⁷ According to the certificate of release, the Saint left the Patriarchate because of the humid climate of Egypt. In addition, a letter from the "Political Agent" of Greece in Egypt, John Gryparis to the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Demetrios Kallifronas on the date January 28, 1894¹⁷⁸ shows that Nectarios left the Patriarchate for moral causes and inobedience towards Patriarch Sophronios. We consider necessary to comment on these

¹⁷⁵ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 46.

¹⁷⁶ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920). (Athens, 1985) 46-47.

¹⁷⁷ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 47.

¹⁷⁸ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 48-49. We will say more about this letter in the next chapter.

three causes of the Saint's removal, before further narrating the other events connected with him and the Patriarchate in Alexandria.

The bad climatic conditions of Egypt and also other causes influenced negatively the health of Saint Nectarios already, as we conjectured from the content of 30 August 1889 and of 6 September 1889 of Metropolitan Germanos of Thevai, Patriarchal Commissioner in Alexandria, to the Patriarch Sophronios who was abroad and also in the letters of 25 August 1889 of Patriarch Sophronios from Leros to Germanos. These letters which were found in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in the archives of Metropolitan Germanos of Thevai, tell us that the health of the Saint suffered because of the dampness of Egypt.¹⁷⁹ The Saint's health problems did not actually provoke his departure, but the Saint's colleagues being unable to tolerate the superiority of his character, preferred the facile way of slander.

As far as to the second cause, the Metropolitan of Pentapolis was expelled for moral reasons, always according to the

¹⁷⁹Fragments of the above mentioned letters are cited below.

In his first letter, dated August 30, 1889, addressed to the Patriarch Sophronios in Leros, Metropolitan Germanos of Thevai reports:

"Η Α. Πανιερότης δ' "Αγιος Πενταπόλεως, κατά διαταγήν τῶν ιατρῶν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Σουέζ καὶ ἐκεῖθεν διά τῆς διώριγος θά ύπαγη εἰς Πόρτ Σαΐδ, ὅπου θά διαμείνῃ ὀλίγας ημέρας καὶ διά τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ Α. Πανιερότης δ' Πενταπόλεως κύρ Νεκτάριος ὑποφέρων εἰσέπι, παρέμεινε δέ τρεῖς μόνον ημέρας καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Κάιρον."

G. Triantaphyllakis, "Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως," Πάνταινος (Alexandria) 21/22 (November 1, 1961) 293.

The second letter which was addressed by Patriarch Sophronios from Leros in August 25, 1889, to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevai, says that:

"Μέ κακοφανισμόν μας εἴδομεν νά μᾶς λέγη περί Πενταπόλεως νοσιλευομένου εἰσέπι ἐν Ἱερῷ Μονῇ τοῦ 'Αγίου Γεωργίου καὶ εὐχόμεθα ταχείανάναρρωσιν."

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 123.

The third letter, dated September 6, 1889, which was sent by Germanos to Sophronios, refers that:

"Τό παρελθόν Σάββατον 2 Σεπτεμβρίου ἀφίκετο ἐνταῦθα διά θαλάσσης ἡ Α. Πανιερότης δ' Πενταπόλεως κύρ Νεκτάριος ὑποφέρων εἰσέπι, παρέμεινε δέ τρεῖς μόνον ημέρας καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Κάιρον."

G. Triantaphyllakis, "Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως," Πάνταινος (Alexandria) 21/22 (November 1, 1961) 293.

suggestions of those surrounding the Patriarchate. It is obvious that this accusation was groundless, because it was in contradiction to the content of the hierarch's Certificate of discharge, according to which Metropolitan Nectarios could perform his Episcopal duties wherever he might go. If he was really immoral, he would have received permanent dismissal, according to the Canons of the Church, or been cleared in the worst situation. In his circumstances, he was immoral according to Patriarchal sources, according to his Certificate of discharge which had been given to him by the same people. Yet, Nectarios was worthy to perform his Episcopal ministry, two things completely contradictory and incompatible. It is obvious that these people did not have Nectarios' acquittal in view, but only his expulsion from Egypt.

According to the third cause, Saint Nectarios was disobedient towards Patriarch Sophronios. Even so, the Metropolitan neither before nor after the Patriarchal Communications and the Certificate of discharge protested, but he preferred silence and obedience to the decisions of the Mother Church. He knew very well that if he were to adopt a different attitude, he would destroy the best that he had infused into the souls of his spiritual children. As a real minister of God, he preferred to be unjustly accused rather than destroy the image of prelacy before the eyes of his flock, or to censure his brother hierarchs who had wronged him.¹⁸⁰ As a matter

¹⁸⁰In the letter shown below, we are told that Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais wrote to Archdeacon Constantine Pagones, and accused Saint Nectarios of being proud of himself:

"Ο Τρελλοπαρίσης ὁ Ἰατρός μᾶς ἔκαμεν ἄνω κάτω Οὕτος ὁ φαντασιόπληκτος τοῦ ὅποιού τάχνωτα μόνον μέτον Πενταπόλεως τεριάζοντι δε καὶ ἀλληλοθημιάζονται, μακαρίζοντες ὃ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον διάτην πολυμάθειαν καὶ τὸν γεγυμνασμένον κάλαμον."

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 234.

Ten years later, in 1900, after the death of Patriarch Sophronios, Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais protested in his treatise *'Αντιπελαργήσεως Κώνστ. Παγώνη (Μ. Αρχιδιακόνου) ἐλεγχος*, for the anticanonical election of the Chancellor Meletios

of fact, the scales leaned negatively towards the side of Patriarch Sophronios ^{and} because of his very advanced age (88 years old), ^{he} was unable to discern the minds of the people surrounding him. Ambitiously bound by his throne, and without looking for the source of the accusations which were cast against his bishop, he did not allow him the opportunity to apologize, and the Patriarch was influenced and he believed the slanderers against his spiritual son. Nectarios, from the first day of his involvement in the Alexandrian Church, in every way showed his gratitude towards his guardian and benefactor Sophronios, and by the sanctity of his life in accordance with his rich pastoral obligations, he proved that he was worthy of such benefaction.

Nectarios remained silent towards the injustice of his brother-hierarchs, because of his profound spirituality. He was sure that behind the human injustice, inscrutable and unfathomable divine plans were hidden. What is important is that Nectarios succeeded in covering his fidelity to his folk. That fact is witnessed to in the farewell letter of July 29, 1890, which was given to him by a delegation of 900 homogenous people in Cairo, before his departure from Egypt.¹⁸¹ In this letter we can see, on the one hand the subordination of God's people to the Divine Will, which in this circumstance suggests the sufficiency of the "Good Shepherd," and on the other hand the devotion, the zeal, and the self-denial of the Metropolitan and his rare virtuous abilities, which are recognized by his flock. It is worthy to note that in this

Apostolopoulos in the position of the vicar of the Alexandrian Throne, and for those hierarchs who were "κακήν κακώς ἐκδιωχθέντες" from Egypt, as Saint Nectarios, "τοῦ βίᾳ ἀπομακρυθέντος Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως καὶ νῦν ἐπαξίως διευθύνοντος τὴν ἐν Αθῆναις Ριζάρειον Σχολὴν" (pp. 10, 27). The content of this treatise refutes the previous letter, and vindicate the Saint.

¹⁸¹ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 56-57.

letter the sign of empathy or fanaticism does not rise against those who had wronged the Metropolitan, but his expulsion is to be construed as according to the Divine Will. At the same time, we can see how the devout people in Cairo respected and loved their spiritual leader. "The Saint was humble and Christo-centric that he would have worked in the vineyard of the Lord, so that he could transplant the true way of Christian life to others, the Theanthropic life which he lived himself."¹⁸²

The Greek people of Cairo were very sorry because of Nectarios' departure. Their spontaneous and unselfish love for him was graciously exhibited in an Alexandrian newspaper which printed their above mentioned letter with over nine hundred compatriots' signatures. He refused to lose courage, and with the strength that he prayed for, without complaint, he went forth. It was this that prepared him for what was ahead. He asked to apologize to the Patriarch, but Sophronios refused to accept his apology. Metropolitan Nectarios certainly departed from the Alexandrian Patriarchate in October of 1890, and returned to Athens.¹⁸³

11. Metropolitan Nectarios and the Archdiocese of Sinai

Two unpublished letters of Saint Nectarios Kephalas, Patriarchal Warden of Cairo to the Archbishop Porphyrios A' of Sinai were the fruit of my research and study in the Monastery of Sinai, the content of which is given and commented later herein, as well as other letters exchanged between the Archbishop Porphyrios and

¹⁸²Rev. S. Sarantos, "Η πλούσια προσφορά του Αγίου Νεκταρίου στήν Εκκλησία και στήν Πολιτεία," *Κοινωνία* (Athens) 32 (April/June, 1989) 175.

¹⁸³Μητρώον Ιερού Κλήρου του Αγιωτάτου και Αποστολικού Θρόνου Άλεξανδρείας ἐπί τῆς εὐκλεοῦς Πατριαρχείας Σωφρονίου Δ' (Codex 37, No. 114) (Archives of the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria).

the Sinai brotherhood, that assist us in understanding the crisis then existing between Sinai and the Alexandria Patriarchate.

Nectarios' first letter is a forwarding document of the letter of Selim Kalerghis, dated 2/14 October 1886, who had offered, in January 1884, to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, his coaches for the funeral of a certain George Vassiliou, who was Orthodox in faith and of Italian nationality. The fees for the use of the coaches amounted to 50 francs had been asked many times by Kalerghis but the predecessor of Saint Nectarios had not paid him, and that is why the Saint transfers the application of Kalerghis to the Monastery of Sinai, the heirs of the deceased Vassiliou.¹⁸⁴

Saint Nectarios sent another letter to the Archbishop Porphyrios A' of Sinai, in which letter he is the mediator, transferring to him the request of Nicholas Ambet, to be a member of the School-Board of the School established by his relatives George, Raphael and Ananias Ambet. According to the Will of the Ambet brothers, the Archbishop of Sinai is the President of the School-Board of the Ambetios School. This was the reason Saint Nectarios wrote to the Archbishop of Sinai.¹⁸⁵

We shall then refer to the relations of Saint Nectarios with the Archbishop of Sinai Porphyrios A', on the basis of the information we collected from the above research. Nectarios was appointed by Patriarch Sophronios as the Patriarchal-Warden of Cairo on August 6, 1886, at which time the famous Sinaitic problem was in progress. By this term, we mean the dispute existing between the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Sinai Archbishop for

¹⁸⁴Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "Εσωτερικόςφάκελος 24, Κάιρον 1867–1890 – 5 (1886) Κορνήλιος".

¹⁸⁵Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "Εσωτερικόςφάκελος 24, Κάιρον 1867–1890 – 5 (1886) Κορνήλιος".

the Monastery dependency of Mount Sinai established in Cairo, which was faced with skepticism by the Patriarch of Alexandria. It also happened that the Archbishop of Sinai went to Cairo, to the Monastery dependency without previously paying his respects to the Patriarch of Alexandria himself, and without informing the Patriarchal-Warden of Cairo. This offended the Patriarch and had as a consequence, the interruption of the relations between the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Archbishop of Sinai. Although this problem had started in the middle of the 16th century, at the time of Lavrentios the Father Superior of Sinai Monastery, it still existed during the time of Sophronios. In his letter of 1888, sent by the Deacons Porphyrios and Nikodemos, brothers of Mount Sinai, living in the monastery dependency in the district Tzouvania of Cairo, to the Exarch of the Monastery the Archimandrite Anthimos and Oekonomos Evgenios, they mention this problem as follows:

.... at this point, our relations with the Patriarch of Alexandria are interrupted.¹⁸⁶

In the letter of August 1888, that was sent by the Deacons Porphyrios and Nikodemos, again to the Archimandrite Anthimos and Oekonomos Evgenios, they refer to the solution of this problem thanks to the interference of the President of the Greek Community in Alexandria, George Averof. The extract of the letter is as follows:

.... we are pleased to inform you that the Patriarchal problem was happily brought to an end by the courteous interference of Mr. G. Averof, without conditions. Last Friday, the 12 of August, Mr. Averof, Mr.

¹⁸⁶".... εἰς τό αὐτό σημεῖον μετά τοῦ Πατριάρχου' Αλεξανδρείας εὑρισκόμενοι διακεκομένας ἔχοντες τὰς σχέσεις".

Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "Τζουβανία 3, αρ. 226".

Averof invited in Alexandria, by cable, the Archbishop (Porphyrios A') who came on Saturday and visited the Patriarch, and kissed him in a fraternal and cordial way and thus they became best friends.¹⁸⁷

Saint Nectarios, during the five years he served as the Patriarchal-Warden in Egypt (1886-1890), informed the Patriarch concerning the visits of the Sinai Archbishop in Cairo without permission. This was probably the reason for which the Archbishop of Sinai was initially unfriendly to Nectarios. In the letter of November 14, 1888, of Porphyrios A' to the Sacristan of Mount Sinai, the Archimandrite Gregorios, he mentions the death of the Patriarchal-Warden of Cairo, the Metropolitan Matthaios Vallinakis of Thevais and his succession as follows:

The Patriarch wrote to the Patriarch of Jerusalem to send him a Prelate, provisionally, until he ordains another Prelate at the place of the deceased. It is certain that Kephalas will take this post and alas. All this between us.¹⁸⁸

Obviously, the Archbishop of Sinai, although he was one of those prelates who ordained Saint Nectarios as Metropolitan of Pentapolis, did not approve his election to the post of the Patriarchal Warden because the Saint was honest and did not seek for compromises. In the letter of January 12, 1889, of Archbishop Porphyrios from Cairo to some "Most Reverend," probably a member

187" ...μετά χαρᾶς ἀναγγέλομεν ὑμῖν ὅτι τό Πατριαρχικόν ἐπεισόδιον ἐλύθη αἰσίως τῇ εὐγενῆ μεσολαβήσει τοῦ μεγαθύμου κ. Γ. Ἀβέρωφ ἄνευ ὄρων. Τήν παρελθούσαν Παρασκευήν 12 Αὐγούστου ὁ κ. Ἀβέρωφ προσεκάλεσεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τηλεγραφικῶς τόν Δεσπότην (σ.σ. Σιναίου Πορφύριον τόν Α'), δόστις καταβάς, τό Σάββατον ἐπεσκέψατο μ.μ. τόν Πατριάρχην ἀσπασάμενον αὐτόν ἀδελφικῶς καί ἐγκαρδίως καί οὕτω τούτοι ἔγιναν μέλι γάλα". Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "Τζουβανία, ap. 244".

188" Ο Πατριάρχης ἔγραψε πρός τόν Ἱεροσολύμων νά τοῦ στείλει ἐναν ἀρχιερέα προσωρινῶς ἔως οὗ χειροτονήσῃ ἄλλον ἀρχιερέα εἰς τήν θέσιν τοῦ μακαρίτου Θηβαΐδος. 'Ως τοιοῦτος δέ βέβαιον είναι ὅτι θά γίνη ὁ Κεφαλᾶς καί ἄλλοιμονον. Πάντα τά καθ ἡμᾶς ἴδιαιτέρως". Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "2, Κάιρον 1882-1929, ap. 41-2".

of the Sinai Brotherhood, he announces the ordination of Saint Nectarios to the post of the Bishop, as follows:

The Patriarch is awaited this day with the Archbishop of Corfu from Alexandria and next Sunday we shall ordain Kephalas as Bishop of Pentapolis, perhaps.¹⁸⁹

In his letter of February 6, 1889, that Archbishop Porphyrios addressed from Cairo, again to some "Most Reverend," he expresses his sorrow for his bad relations with Patriarch Sophronios:

Good God ! Good God ! I am tired to write any more. There is nobody to collaborate. We have problems again with the Patriarch. He will not grant us a written permission from the Monastery in order to come and if we ask this, this will establish a right of the Patriarch and if we do not, we will have the same problems and even worse!¹⁹⁰

In the letter of Archbishop Porphyrios to Archimandrite Kornelios, dated May 12, 1890, the discharge of Saint Nectarios from his duties is reported as follows:

The Patriarch is still living in Cairo with Metropolitan of Thevais because they did not conciliate with Kephalas, whom the Patriarch does not wish to keep as the Patriarchal-Warden but simply as a Prelate to officiate when needed and without any other authority in the Church or management.¹⁹¹

189 "Σήμερον περιμένεται ό Πατριάρχης μέ τόν πρ. Κερκύρας ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τήν προσεχῆ Κυριακήν θά χειροτονήσωμεν τόν Κεφαλᾶ Ἀρχιερέα Πενταπόλεως". Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "2, Κάιρον 1882-1929, αρ. 56-2".

190 "Θεέ μου ! Θεέ μου ! Ἐβαρύνθημεν νά γράφωμεν πλέον. Δέν ἔχομεν μετά τίνος νά συσκεφθῶμεν, μετά τίνος νά συνεργασθῶμεν. Ἐχομεν πάλι ἄλλας ιστορίας μετά τοῦ Πατριάρχου ἔνεκα τούτου καὶ νά μή θελήσῃ νά ζητήσωμεν ἄδειαν γραπτήν ἀπό τήν Μονήν πρίν κατεβῶμεν καὶ τότε ἄν ζητήσωμεν θά καθιερωθή τούτο ώς δικαίωμα τοῦ Πατριάρχου, ἄν δέν ζητήσωμεν θά ἔχωμεν πάλιν τά ίδια καὶ χειρώτερα !" Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "2ον Π. Κάιρον 1882-1929, 52/6".

191 "Ο Πατριάρχης μένει εἰσέτι εἰς Κάιρον μετά τοῦ Θηβαΐδος, διότι δέν ἔφιλιώθησαν μετά τοῦ Κεφαλᾶ, τόν ὅποιον ὁ Πατριάρχης δέν ἔννοει νά ἀφήσῃ ἐπίτροπόν του, ἀλλ ἀπλῶς μόνον ώς Ἀρχιερέα νά λειτουργεῖ καὶ ιεροπράττει ὀσάκις είναι ἀνάγκη χωρίς νά ἔχῃ οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην Ἐκκλησιαστικήν ἔχουσίαν καὶ διαχείρησιν. Καὶ ούτως ἔχουσι πρός τό παρόν τά πράγματα".

In the letter of July 18, 1890, of Porphyrios from Alexandria to Dikaios of Mount Sinai, Canon Gerasimos and to the other members of the Holy Assembly of his Monastery, he noted:

His All-Holiness will bring back the Metropolitan of Thevais here, now living in Cairo in the place of the Metropolitan of Pentapolis, who was dismissed by the Patriarch long ago and ordered him to leave Egypt.¹⁹²

According to the information of the Librarian of the Monastery of Sinai, the Hieromonk Symeon Papadopoulos, Saint Nectarios visited Sinai Monastery only once during his stay in Alexandria. Unfortunately, the archives of ^{the} Monastery of Sinai do not possess the Book of visitors for the years 1885-1890 and that is why this oral testimony is not cross-checked with another written one.

Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "2, Αλεξάνδρεια 1868-1899, αρ. 287".

192" ἡ Α. Παναγιότης θά ἐπαναφέρη τὸν "Αγιον Θηβαΐδος ἐνταῦθα διαμένοντα ἥδη ἐν Καΐρῳ ἀντί τοῦ Πενταπόλεως, ὃν ὁ Πατριάρχης ἔπαυσε τῆς θέσεως ἐκείνης ἀπό πολλοῦ καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸν ν ἀπέλθη τῆς Αἰγύπτου".

Archives of Monastery of Sinai, "2, Αλεξάνδρεια 1868-1899, αρ. 322".

PART THREE: THE PREACHER (1891-1894)

1. Appointment as Preacher in Euboea

Rejected and slandered by his brother hierarchs, Metropolitan Nectarios was forced to leave Egypt at the end of 1890, and returned to Greece. He briefly considered living an ascetic life in Mount Athos¹⁹³, beseeching the protection of 'Lady Theotokos', during the difficult trial which he endured. Many of his friends, amongst whom was the Archbishop Hierotheos of Patras¹⁹⁴, recommended that he remain 'in the world', in order to help the spiritual rebirth of the country.

Nectarios came to Athens faced with the problem of his survival, deprived also of his daily bread, 'a miserable existence,' as he characteristically wrote in his letter to the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria. He stayed in a small room in Gargaretta.¹⁹⁵ He partially overcame his financial difficulties by the income he received from some 'stole-money' which Metropolitan Germanos Kalligas of Athens granted him.¹⁹⁶ It was a short-term

¹⁹³Monk Theodorets (Hagioritan), 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Ιεράρχης (Athens, 1977) 24; Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστον Πατρός ήμῶν καὶ Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 11; G. Dragas, "A Contemporary Greek Saint - Saint Nektarios 1846-1920," *Mount Carmel* (England) 27 (1979) 17; C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 24.

¹⁹⁴Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστον Πατρός ήμῶν καὶ Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 11.

¹⁹⁵E. Konstantinou, "Die Botschaft der Heiligen in unserer Zeit (Der heilige Nektarios von Agina - Griechenland (1846-1920)," *Der Christliche Osten* (Germany) 1 (1988) 18; S. Hondopoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας - Ο Ὀσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης, 1973) 60.

¹⁹⁶N. Metaxas, 'Ο Μητροπολίτης Αθηνῶν Γερμανός Καλλιγᾶς 1844-1896 (Athens, 1972) 61; G. Leventidis, "Ο Οσιος Νεκτάριος Αιγίνης," *Ενορία* (Athens) 32 (10. 11. 1977) 235; 32 (1.12.1977) 265; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 21; S. Hondopoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας - Ο Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης, 1973) 62, 67, 68.

solution. The problem of poverty that Metropolitan Nectarios continued to face, led him to submit a form to the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece on 27 October 1890, asking to be appointed in any place of the then Greek Kingdom as preacher, or teacher of religious studies, or locum tenens in a vacant see.¹⁹⁷

The Sacred Synod transferred the application to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education, suggesting his appointment as preacher in the Province of Euboea.¹⁹⁸ The Ministry, however, replied in its document of 9 November 1890, that while it accepted the appointment, its fulfillment was impeded because the Metropolitan did not have Greek nationality.¹⁹⁹ In consequence, the Sacred Synod by its document of 19 November 1890 to the Ministry replied that "the aforesaid hierarch as well as having the experience and the ability, is also bachelor of the Theological School of our national University," and he "has Greek nationality ..."²⁰⁰ The Ministry by its document of 3 December 1890 to the Sacred Synod wrote amongst other things that "the appointment of his Eminence Mgr. Nectarios of Pentapolis, although he has all the

¹⁹⁷ The form that Saint Nectarios submitted to the Synod is the following :

"Πρός
τὴν Ἱεράν Σύνοδον τῆς Ἑκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
Σεβασμιώτατοι,
Λόγοι ἀνεξάρτητοι τῆς θελήσεως μου μοί ἀναγκάζουσι νά διαμένω ἐν
Ἑλλάδι. Ἐπειδή δέ ή οἰκονομική μου θέσις δέν μοί ἐπιτρέπει νά διατελώ ἐν
ἀργίᾳ, ἀν ή Ἑκκλησία τοῦ Βασιλείου νομίζη με χρήσιμον εἰς τι ευαρεστηθήτω
ή Ἱερά Σύνοδος τῆς Ἑλλάδος νά μέ ἀποστείλη που τοῦ Βασιλείου ή ως
ἱεροκήρυκα, ή ως καθηγητήν τῶν ἱερῶν μαθημάτων, ή καί ως ἀναπληρωτήν
ἀρχιερέως ἐν τῇ χηρευούσῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ἔχοντα συνάμα τὴν ἄδειαν νά ἐκπληρώ
ἀρχιερατικάς ἱεροτελετουργίας καί οὐτω θέλει μέ καταστήση ὑπόχρεων
χάριτος διατελούντα μετά σεβασμοῦ εἰς ἀεί.

Προθυμότατος

+ 'ΟΜητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος."

[Metr. Ch. Themelis, *Ἱεροκήρυκες ἐν Εύβοιᾳ* (Athens, 1982) 50-51].

¹⁹⁸ ibid., p. 51.

¹⁹⁹ ibid., p. 51. Cf. also, Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστον Πατρός ἡμῶν καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνη Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 11-12.

²⁰⁰ Metr. Ch. Themelis, *Ἱεροκήρυκες ἐν Εύβοιᾳ* (Athens, 1982) 51.

qualifications according to the law, to be in the position of preacher, could offend the dignity of the higher ecclesiastical office that he possesses, therefore we abstained from appointing him as a preacher," and added that "it would be better if his qualifications were to be used in one of the vacant sees in the country, the one which most needs the presence of a hierarch."²⁰¹ The Sacred Synod, by its document of 6 February 1891 to the Ministry, explains why it insists on this position, concerning the appointment of Metropolitan Nectarios and asks the Ministry to appoint him as preacher in the Province of Euboea, in which at that time existed the towns Chalkis, Aliveri, Karystos, Kyme, Aedipsos, Istiaia, Limne, and the islands of Northern Sporades.²⁰²

After this, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education²⁰³, by its document of 15 February 1891 to the Sacred Synod, announced that a royal decree which was published on 12th. February 1891 "charged the duties of the preacher of the Province of Euboea to his Eminence Metropolitan Mgr. Nectarios Kephalas of Pentapolis, with the official salary for the position of preacher."²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ibid.

²⁰²The Synod's document is the following :

"Η Ιερά ἀπεκδέχεται καὶ εὐχαριστίας αὐτῷ ἐκφράζει ἐπί τῇ προνοίᾳ αὐτοῦ διά τὴν τήρησιν τῆς ἀξιοπρεπείας τοῦ περὶ οὐ δ λόγος ιεράρχου. Ἀλλ᾽ ὡς καλῶς γινώσκει τὸ ὑπουργεῖον καὶ ἂν ἥθελεν ἐπιτραπῆ παρὰ τῆς Συνόδου, νά μεταβῇ ούτος εἰς τινα τῶν χηρευούσων Ἐπισκοπῶν, πρῶτον μέν δέν δύναται ἄλλως νά πράττῃ, η νά ἐπιτελῇ ούτως εἰπεῖν ἐφημεριακά καθήκοντα, ἀτε τοῦ ἐν ισχύει περί τούτου νόμου μή παρεχομένου αὐτῷ τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ ἐνασκείν ἐπισκοπικά καθήκοντα, οιον καθήκοντα διοικήσεως κατ ἀκολουθίαν δέ θά είναι ύποκείμενος τῇ Ἐπισκοπικῇ Ἐπιτροπῇ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας ἔκεινης, εἰς ἦν θά μεταβῇ, ὅπερ λίαν ἔχεντελιστικόν δεύτερον δέ καί τοῦτο ἂν ὑποτεθῇ ὅτι γίνεται, πάλιν οὲν λόγω Ιεράρχης, ἂν μετά δύο η τρεῖς τό πολύ μῆνας γείνωσι αἱ ἀπαιτούμεναι διά τάς χηρευούσας ἐπισκοπάς προτάσεις, θά μείνη ἄνευ θέσεως, καὶ πάλιν θά στερεῖται τοῦ ἐπιουσίου ἄρτου."

[Metr. Ch. Themelis, *Ιεροκήρυκες ἐν Εύβοιᾳ* (Athens, 1982) 52].

²⁰³The Sacred Preachers were appointed by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs: one Sacred Preacher for each Province, according to the Law DCCXLVII of 13 December 1878 [Metr. Ch. Themelis, *Ιεροκήρυκες ἐν Εύβοιᾳ* (Athens, 1982) 52].

²⁰⁴ibid. The decision of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs which referred to Saint Nectarios' appointment in the post of Sacred Preacher of the Province of Euboea was

It happened that at this time Euboia lacked preachers because her two hierarchs were unable to preach the divine word. Bishop Makarios Kalliarches of Karystia²⁰⁵, because of his advanced age, and Archbishop Christophoros Stamatades of Chalkis²⁰⁶, because of his illness, were unable to offer their services to the people of Euboia. This is witnessed to in the memorandum of 3 August 1890 that Metropolitan Makarios of Karystia submitted to the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece, pleading with the Sacred Synod to appoint a preacher in their Province.²⁰⁷

2. Nectarios' Wanderings in the Province and his Trials

Metropolitan Nectarios certainly went to Chalkis in the middle of March 1891. He established himself in a room of a two-stored house behind the court house. Nectarios stayed there for a short time only, and then moved to another house in Kotopouli Street.²⁰⁸ The then weekly newspaper *Evripo*s, gives us valuable information

published in the journal of the Government of the Greek Kingdom, part 1, No. 47, 14 February 1891, p. 179.

²⁰⁵ Bishop of Karystia from 1852-1896 [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)' (Athens, 1985) 251].

²⁰⁶ Archbishop of Chalkis from years 1882-1892 [J. Konstantinidis, "Μητρόπολις Χαλκίδος," Θρησκευτική καί Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία 12 (1968) 60].

²⁰⁷ Metropolitan Makarios' memorandum is the following :

"Πρός τήν Ιεράν Σύνοδον τῆς Εκκλησίας τῆς Ελλάδος.

Παρακαλεῖται ή Ιερά Σύνοδος ἵνα εὐαρεστηθῇ καὶ μεριμνήσῃ περὶ διορισμοῦ ιεροκήρυκος κατά τὸν Νόμον Εύβοίας, καθ ὅτι ἀμφότεροι οἱ κατά τὸν Νόμον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχοντες Ἀρχιερεῖς κατέστημεν ἡδη, ἀνίκανοι εἰς τὸ διδάσκειν. Τό κατ' ἐμέ ὡς ἔκ τοῦ γήρατός μου ἐγγύς ὄντος τῶν 80 ἑτῶν, τοῦ δέ Αγίου Χαλκίδος πάσχοντος ὡς πληροφορούματι, ὑπό βαρυτάτου νοσήματος καὶ κατά τούς ὄφθαλμούς, ὥστε ὁ Λαός τῆς Εύβοίας στερεῖται πάντως τοῦ Θείου Λόγου.

Εὔπειθέστατος ὁ Καρυστίας Μακάριος."

[L. Pavlou, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως ὡς Ιεροκήρυκας Εύβοίας (Chalkis, Euboia, 1989) 3].

²⁰⁸ S. Hondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας - Ο"Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης, 1973) 72.

about both the spiritual work of Saint Nectarios in Euboia, and his personality. His arrival was greeted by *Evriplos* as follows:

The recently appointed preacher to the Province of Euboia, Nectarios Kephalas, arrived here last week. This devout preacher who has the high office of Archpriest was the Metropolitan of Pentapolis, in Alexandria. According to our information he is a knowledgeable hierarch and bachelor of the Theological School of our National University; tomorrow he will preach in the Metropolitan church of Saint Demetrios, the next Sunday in Saint Paraskevi's church. At the beginning of next month he will go to the country of Karystia, where he will also preach the word of God, and by permission of the Metropolitan of Karystia who is a synodical bishop, he will celebrate all over the country, an arrangement for which the local Episcopal commissioners have taken the proper orders and directions.²⁰⁹

On the occasion of Saint Nectarios' departure to the county of Karystia, to preach the Divine Word, *Evriplos* mentioned the effect that the preaching of Saint Nectarios had on the people of Chalkis. The convincing arguments of his words and his eloquence was recorded:

His Eminence the Preacher of the Province of Euboia and former Bishop Nectarios Kephalas of Pentapolis left the previous day to Karystia, in order to preach the word of God there also. This knowledgeable clergyman has repeatedly been preaching in the sacred

²⁰⁹ *Evriplos'* comment is the following :

"Ο ἀρτίως ἱεροκήρυξ τοῦ Νομοῦ Εύβοίας διορισθείς Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς, ἀφίκετο ἐνταῦθα ἀπό τῆς παρελθούσης ἑβδομάδος. Ο σεβάσμιος οὗτος ἱεροκήρυξ φέρει τό ὑψηλόν ἱερατικόν ἀξίωμα τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως, χρηματίσας ὡς τοιοῦτος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καθ ἃς ἔχομεν δέ πληροφορίας εἰναι Ἀρχιερεὺς εὐπαίδευτος, καθ ὅ τρόφιμος τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ ήμῶν Πανεπιστημίου αὔριον ὄμιλήσει ἐν τῷ Μητροπολιτικῷ Ναῷ τοῦ Ἅγιου Δημητρίου, τὴν ἐπομένην δέ Κυριακήν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀγ. Παρασκευῆς, περὶ δέ τάς ἀρχάς τοῦ προσεχοῦ μηνὸς μεταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Καρυστίας, ὅπου θέλει κηρύξει ἐπίσης τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅπου συνάμα ἐπετράπῃ αὐτῷ ὑπό τοῦ ἀγίου Καρυστίας, καθ ὅ Συνοδικοῦ, ἡ ἄδεια τῆς τελέσεως ἀρχιερατικῶν ἱεροτελεστιῶν καθ ἅπασαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, τῆς ὥποιας οἱ κατά τόπους ἐπισκοπικοί ἐπίτροποι ἔλαβον τάς προσηκούσας πρός τοῦτο διαταγάς καὶ ὀδηγίας."

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1303 (16.3.1891) 3].

churches here, and in the schools, attracting the respect and the esteem of the citizens who eagerly throng together, in order to hear and be taught many things by the modest sacred preacher, whose powerful arguments and spontaneous eloquence have been praised very much.²¹⁰

"The journeys continued tirelessly in Karystos, Kyme, Skyros, Aliveri, Aghios Loukas, Istiaia, Aedipsos, Northern Sporades and Chalkis."²¹¹ The departure of Metropolitan Nectarios from Kyme to Chalkis upset the people of Kyme very much, because as is mentioned in *Evripo*s, they missed their spiritual father who, with his soul-saving words, the example of his behavior and his flowing knowledge, embraced them all indiscriminately, regardless of their class and age.²¹² As Nectarios especially loved Kyme and its

²¹⁰ *Evripo*s' comment has as follows :

"Απήλθε προχθές εἰς Καρυστίαν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεὶ κηρύξῃ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἱεροκήρυξ τοῦ Νομοῦ Εύβοίας καὶ πρώην Ἐπίσκοπος Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς. Ὁ εὐπαίδευτος οὗτος κληρικός ἐπανειλημμένως κηρύξας ἐν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἱεροῖς ναοῖς καὶ τοῖς σχολείοις, ἐφείλκυσε τὸν σεβασμόν καὶ τὴν ἔκτιμησιν τῶν πολιτῶν, προθύμως συρρευσάντων, ἵνα ἀκούσωσι καὶ διδαχθῶσι πολλά παρά τοῦ σεμνοῦ Ἱεροκήρυκος, οὐ τό σθένος τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ ἡ πρόχειρος εὐγλωττία λίαν ἐπηνέθησαν."

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1305 (30.3.1891) 4].

²¹¹ L. Pavlou, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως ώς Ἱεροκήρυκας Εύβοίας (Chalkis, Euboia, 1989) 6.

²¹² *Evripo*s mentioned the following :

"Καθ ἄ γράφουσιν ἐκ Κύμης, ἡ ἐκείθεν ἀναχώρησις τοῦ Ἱεροκήρυκος τοῦ Νομοῦ Εύβοίας Μητροπολίτου Ἀγίου Πενταπόλεως ἄφατον ἀληθῶς προυκάλεσε λύπην καὶ ἀνεπιλήστους ἐπαφῆικεν ἐντυπώσεις. Η ἀπουσία του ἐκ τοῦ Θρόνου κατά τὰς ἀγίας ταύτας μάλιστα ἡμέρας μεγίστην παρέχει τὴν αἰσθησιν. Καὶ εἰκότως τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοσαύτην ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ του οἱ Κυμαίοι αἰσθάνονται λύπην, καθ ὅσον κατά τὸ μικρὸν διάστημα τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει των παραμονῆς του μεγάλα ἀληθῶς, ώς Πνευματικός Πατήρ ἀπειργάσατο. Οἱ ψυχοφελεῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοι, σαφεῖς καὶ ἀπέριττοι τὴν ἔκφρασιν, μετά περισσοῦς πρακτικότητος καὶ εὐρέων ἐπιστημονικῶν γνώσεων, συνεκίνουν μέχρι τῶν μιχιαιτάτων τῆς καρδίας ἐξ ἴσου πάντας καὶ εἰς ἀληθῆ τὸν φιλόθρησκον τῆς Κύμης λαόν ἥγον συναίσθησιν. Καὶ πῶς ἡδύνατο ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ ἀλλοίους νά παραγάγῃ καρπούς, ἀφ' οὐ, ώς ὑπογραμμόν καὶ παράδειγμα ἔαυτόν παρεῖχε, πατρικήν ὄντως στοργήν καὶ χριστιανικήν ἀληθῶς συμπεριφοράν ἀδιακρίτως πρόσπαντας ἐπιδεικνύμενος;"

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1340 (4.1.1892) 8].

citizens, he stayed there for a long time. He himself spoke later with great admiration for the quality of the people of this area.²¹³

In March 1892, it was rumored that Metropolitan Nectarios would be moved to the Province of Lakonia. This event caused deep sadness for the people of Euboea of whom 509 citizens of Chalkis signed and sent a petition to the Ministry of Ecclesiastics to revoke the removal of Metropolitan Nectarios if it had been published.²¹⁴

²¹³ M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν" (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 74. Cf. also, L. Pavlou, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως Ἰεροκήρυκας Εύβοιας' (Chalkis, Euboea, 1989) 5.

²¹⁴ Evripus announced Saint Nectarios' removal to Lakonia as follows :

"Ολως ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐγένετο γνώστον χθές, ὅτι ὁ Ιεροκήρυξ Εύβοιας κ. Νεκτάριος, Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως, μετετέθη εἰς τόν Νομόν Λακωνίας. Η ἀπροσδόκητος εἰδησίς ἔξπληξε καὶ συνετάραξε ἀληθῶς τήν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν, ἥτις πολλὴν ἀπονέμει τιμὴν τῷ σεβασμίῳ κληρικῷ, ὅστις μετά τοσαύτης εὐγλωττίας καὶ πειστικότητος κηρύσσει τόν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνά τόν νομόν, σαγηνεύων τούς ἐκκλησιαζομένους καὶ ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτούς ἐν τῇ πίστει τῶν πατέρων.

Δι' ἔλλειψιν ἄλλως τε 'Αρχιερέως είναι ἀναγκαιοτάτη διά τό κήρυγμα ἡ παρουσία Ιεροκήρυκος διαπνεομένου ὑπό ιεροῦ ζήλου καὶ γινώσκοντος νά ἀντλῆ ἐπιχειρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀληθῶν πηγῶν τῆς Θρησκείας. Τοιούτον δέ ιεροκήρυκα εὔρεν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Σ. Μητροπολίτου, δικαίως δέ συνεκινήθη ἐπί τῇ μεταθέσει αὐτοῦ Ἀύθημερόν δέ πλήθος πολιτῶν συνέταξεν ἀναφοράν, διαβιβασθείσαν ἥδη, ἐν ᾧ ἐξέφρασεν τήν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως ἀνακληθῆ ἡ μετάθεσις. Ἐλπίζομεν, ὅτι ὁ κ. Ὑπουργός, μηδενός λόγου ὑπάρχοντος, δέν θά παρίδῃ τήν αἵτησιν πεντακοσίων πολιτῶν. Ή πρός τό 'Ὑπουργείον τῶν Ἐκκλησίων ἀναφορά ἔχει ως ἔξης.

Πρός

Τό Σ. ἐπί τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Ὑπουργείον.

Οἱ μετά σεβασμού ἀναφερόμενοι πολίται τῆς Χαλκίδος, μαθόντες ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Νομού Εύβοιας Ιεροκήρυξ Νεκτάριος πρώην Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως πρόκειται νά μετατεθῇ, σπεύδομεν νά καθικετεύσωμεν τό Σ. Ὑπουργείον, ὅπως μή θελήσῃ νά κάμη τό ἀδίκον τούτο εἰς τόν Νομόν Εύβοιας, ἐάν δέ ἡ μετάθεσις ἐγένετο, νά εύαρεστηθῇ ν' ἀνακαλέση αὐτήν, διόπτι ἡ διατήρησις τοῦ Ιεροκήρυκος τούτου, ὄντος ἐκ τε τοῦ 'Αρχιερατικοῦ ἀξιώματός του καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ προσόντων τοῦ καταλλήλου πρός κήρυγμα, ἀναγκαιοτάτη ἀποβαίνει διά τήν ἡθικήν διαμόρφωσιν καὶ τήν τοῦ θρησκευτικοῦ αἰσθήματος ἀνύψωσιν ἐν τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Νομοῦ Εύβοιας, δι' ἣ γινώσκομεν ὅτι, ἡ Σ. Κυβέρνησις ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἐνδιαφέρεται καὶ προνοεῖ, ἔχοντες ὑπ' ὄψιν μας τάς περί τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τούτου περισπουδάστους Εγκυλίους τοῦ ἐπί τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Κ. Ὑπουργοῦ.

Ἐπί τῆς πεποιθήσεως ταύτης ἐρειδόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συναισθήματος, ὅπι διά τήν ἡθικήν τῆς κοινωνίας βελτίωσιν ἀπαραίτητον ἀποβαίνει, τοιούτοι Ιεροκήρυκες, οἵοις ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Πενταπόλεως, νά κηρύττωσι τόν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τολμῶμεν ως τε χριστιανοί καὶ πολίται, ἐνδιαφερόμενοι διά τήν κοινωνικήν διαμόρφωσιν, ἐξ ἣς πάντα τά λοιπά καὶ ἡθικά καὶ πολιτικά ἀγαθά ἐκπηγάζουσιν, νά παρακαλέσωμεν θερμῶς τό Σ. Ὑπουργείον, ὅπως ἀνακαλέση τήν μετάθεσιν τοῦ ἐν λόγῳ Ιεροκήρυκος ἐν μέσῃ μάλιστα Μεγάλη Τεσσαρακοστῆ, καθ' ἣν ὁ φιλόσοφος Ιεροκήρυξ Νεκτάριος δέν παύεται διά τῶν θείων αὐτοῦ κηρυγμάτων νά ψυχαγωγῇ τόν λαόν καὶ νά ἐπιβάλῃ τήν μετάνοιαν εἰς ὅλας τῆς κοινωνίας τάς κλάσεις, καθ' ὅσον τό κήρυγμα αὐτοῦ πάντως διαφέρει τῶν στερεοτύπων καὶ ἄνευ πολλάκις τῆς ἐλαχίστης ἐννοίας καλογερικῶν ὄμιλων.

The move succeeded, and the people of Chalkis celebrated this event which exhibited the love of the people of God for the worker in 'the vineyard' of Christ.²¹⁵

During the national feast day of the 25th March 1892, Metropolitan Nectarios preached in Chalkis and officiated on the name day of King George I of Greece.²¹⁶ In June of 1892, he went over to the islands of Sporades (Skiathos, Skopelos, Skyros) where he preached.²¹⁷ In June 1892 Saint Nectarios crossed over to Xerochori (Istiaia) of Northern Euboea, where he preached to the citizens of the area. When he returned to Chalkis, he resigned from the position of preacher, because of an episode which had been brought about by the Episcopal Committee of Chalkis which managed the then vacant see (now Metropolis) of the Archdiocese of Chalkis.²¹⁸

His resignation was due to the following incident; that year (1892) Archbishop Christophoros Stamatiades of Chalkis died.²¹⁹

Εὐέλπιδες ὅτι ή ὅσον δικαία τόσον καί νόμιμος αἴτησις ἡμῶν αὕτη
θέλει εἰσακουσθῆ παρά τῆς Σ. Κυβερνήσεως.

διατελούμεν μετά σεβασμοῦ
Εὔπειθέστατοι"

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1350 (14.3.1892) 2-3 ; Archim. Ch. Themelis, "Εκκλησιαστικά Εύβοϊκά Σεμνώματα ἐν οἷς ὁ ἀօιδιμος Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," in Metr. T. Matthaiakis, '*Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)*' (Athens, 1985) 255-256].

²¹⁵The *Evripo*s' article is as follows :

"Μετά πολλῆς εὐχαριστήσεως μανθάνομεν, ἐκ τηλεγραφικῆς εἰδήσεως χθές ἐσπέρας ληφθείσης, ὅτι ή μετάθεσις τοῦ Ἱεροκήρυκος Εύβοίας κ. Νεκταρίου, Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως, ἀνεκλήθη, πεισθέντος τοῦ κ. Ὑπουργοῦ εἰς τὴν εὐλογὸν αἴτησιν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμπολιτῶν. Χαίρομεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διότι, οὕτε δίκαιον ἡν, οὕτε πρέπον, νά στερηθῇ ή ἡμετέρα πόλις κατά τὰς ἀγίας ἡμέρας, αἵτινες ἐπέρχονται, σεμνοῦ καί πεπαιδευμένου Ἱεροκήρυκος, ἀφοῦ μάλιστα μετά τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Χαλκίδος Χριστοφόρου χηρεύει ἡ ἀρχιερατικὴ θέσις, μήπω πληρωθείσα. Ο δέ κ. Ὑπουργός τυγχάνει ἀξιος τῶν συγχαρητηρίων καί τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως διά τὴν ὑπέρ αὐτῆς πρόθυμον καί ἀγαθήν διάθεσιν."

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1351 (21.3.1892) 3].

²¹⁶ibid., 1354 (28.3.1892) 3; 2 (25.4.1892) 2.

²¹⁷ibid., 1362 (13.6.1892) 3.

²¹⁸ibid., 1366 (18.7.1892) 3; 1367 (25.7.1892) 3.

²¹⁹Saint Nectarios presided over the funeral of Archbishop Christophoros in Chalkis, and addressed the obituary [*Εύριπος*(Chalkis) 1340 (4.1.1892) 7].

According to the law Cl of 1852, concerning bishops and dioceses, the administration of the vacant see of the Archdiocese, until the position would be filled, was overseen by a committee of three members. The Episcopal Committee of Chalkis which consisted of the priestly office holders; Nicholas Zapheiropoulos, Panteleon Tsalis and George Pharmakides, sent the preacher its document of 2 July 1892 informing him that, a) his duty as preacher was to teach the faithful the teachings of the Gospel and not to celebrate for stole-money, b) it prohibited him from celebrating anywhere without the committee's permission, c) it called him to submit the outline of his work and an exposition about the religious and moral circumstances of the citizens of the places which he visited and preached, and also two of his sermons which had been preached until then, and d) it accused him of celebrating as a canonical hierarch without permission from the appropriate authority, which the committee advised him to seek in future.²²⁰

220 The Episcopal Committee's document is the following :

"Βασίλειον τῆς Ελλάδος.
Αριθμός Πρωτ. 276 Διεκπ. 213
'Εν Χαλκίδι τῇ 2' Ιουλίου 1892.
'Η Γενική Επισκοπική Επιτροπή Χαλκίδος.
Πρός τόν 'Ιεροκήρυκα Νομού Εύβοιας Σεβ. Πενταπόλεως Κύριον
Νεκτάριον Κεφαλᾶν.
Συνεπείᾳ τῆς ύπ' ἀριθμ. 761833 καὶ ἀπό 15' Ιουνίου ἐνεστώτος ἔτους διαταγῆς τῆς 'Ιερᾶς Συνόδου ποιεὶ γνωστόν' Ύμῖν ἡ ἐπιτροπή πρῶτον μέν ὅτι τό μετέρχεσθαι τούς 'Ιεροκήρυκας, "Ἐργα" Εφημεριακά είναι ἀσυμβίβαστον πρός τὴν ἐμπιστευθείσαν αὐτοῖς ψψηλήν ἐντολήν, ἥτις δέν είναι βεβαίως τό ἐπιτελεῖν ιεροπραξίας ἐπί χρηματισμῷ, ἀλλά τό περιέρχεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν τοῦ πιστούς τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου Διδασκαλίαν καὶ τά καθαρώτατα τῆς ήθικῆς διδάγματα πρός ἀναζοπύρωσιν τοῦ θρησκευτικοῦ αἰσθήματος καὶ πρός ἔχαλειψιν τῶν ποικίλων κακῶν, δι' ὃ ἀπαγορεύεται ύμῖν ἐπί τό μέλλον ἡ ἄνευ ἀδείας τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τέλεσις πάσης ιεροπραξίας, ἡς τὴν ἐπιτέλεσιν ἥθελεν αἰτήσει τῶν Χριστιανῶν τις· δεύτερον προσκαλεῖ ύμᾶς ἡ 'Επιτροπή νά ύποβάλλητε δι' αὐτῆς τῇ 'Ιερῷ Συνόδῳ συνωδῆ τῷ ΣΤ τοῦ ἀπό 13' Ιουλίου 1838 Β. Διατάγματος, διάγραμμα τῆς πορείας ύμῶν καὶ ἔκθεσιν περί θρησκευτικῆς καὶ ήθικῆς καταστάσεως τῶν κατοίκων τῶν κωμοπόλεων, τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἷς μετέβης καὶ ἐκήρυξες, συμφώνως πρός τὴν ἀπό 14' Ιουλίου 1869 καὶ ύπ' ἀριθμ. 222 συνοδικῶν ἐγκυκλίων καὶ οὐχὶ κατά τῦπον ᾖδιον δι' ὃ καὶ ἐπιστρέφεται ύμῖν ἡ ἀπό 7' Ιανουαρίου 1892 πρός τὴν 'Ιεράν Σύνοδον, διὰ τοῦ Σεβ. Προέδρου αὐτῆς ύποβληθείσα ύμετέρα ἀναφορά καὶ τρίτον σᾶς διατάττει ἡ ἐπιτροπή ἐξ ὀνόματος τῆς 'Ιερᾶς Συνόδου νά ύποβάλλητε τῇ 'Ιερῷ Συνόδῳ διά τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, ὡς οἶον τε τάχιον δύο λόγους ἐκ τῶν ἔως ἄρτι ύψος ὑπῶν

He superscribed this document: "This is returned to those who published it as unnecessary, + Bishop of Pentapolis," because he had already taken the decision to resign from his duties as Preacher of the Province of Euboea. This appears in his resignation of 9 July 1892 which he submitted to the Metropolitan of Athens and the president of the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece, Germanos Kalligas.²²¹ The Sacred Synod, however, did not accept his resignation, and by its document of 24 July 1892 to the Episcopal Committee of Chalkis, it made known its decision and petitioned them to announce it to the Metropolitan so that he could continue to execute his duties.²²² Being subordinate to the decision of the Church, Nectarios continued his teaching work. *Evripo*s again

έκφωνηθέντων, καθ' ὅτι ἡ Ἱερά Σύνοδος διά τῆς ἀπό 1 Μαΐου ε.ε. καί ὑπάριθμ. 639 ἐγκυκλίου αὐτῆς διετάξατο καὶ ἡτις ἐκοινοποιήθη πρός ύμᾶς ἐν ὁπισθογράφῳ διά τοῦ ὑπὸ ἀριθμ. 206/147 καί ἀπό 13 Μαΐου ε.ε. ἐγγράφου τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, καὶ τοῦτο ὅφειλατε νά ποιήσετε. Πρός τούτοις συνεπείᾳ ὥσαύτως τῆς ἀνωτέρω ρηθείσης διαταγῆς τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου ποιεῖ ύμῖν κατάδηλον ἡ ἐπιτροπή ὅτι ἔαν εἰς τό μέλλον ἀπαξιώσετε νά συμμορφωθῆτε ταῖς ἐπιταγαῖς τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου θέλει λάβῃ ἡ Ἱερά Σύνοδος τά ἀπαιτούμενα καὶ πρόσφορα καθ' ύμῶν μέτρα, διότι οὐδενί ἡ Σύνοδος θέλει ἐπιτρέψει νά πράττῃ κατά τό δοκοῦν αὐτῷ. Προσέπτι διά τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῆς ἐγγράφου ἡ ἐπιτροπή σᾶς λέγει καὶ τά ἔξης, ὅτι ὥφειλατε νά ζητήσετε τήν ἄδειαν τῆς Προϊσταμένης σας Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Ἀρχῆς καὶ κατόπιν νά προβῆτε εἰς Ἱερουργίαν εἰς τούς Ἱερούς Ναούς τῆς πόλεως Σκιάθου ὡς τοῦτο ἀνήγγειλεν τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ διά την εἰδικός ἐπισκοπικός ἐπίτροπος Σκιάθου Πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης Μανιώτης διά τῆς ὑπὸ ἀριθμ. 144 καὶ 25 παρελθόντος μηνός ἀναφορᾶς του. Παρατηρεῖ δέ ύμῖν ἡ ἐπιτροπή ὅτι προβαίνεις Ἱερουργῶν δίκην κανονικοῦ Ἱεράρχου καὶ δέον κρίνεις ἄξιον παντελῶς τοῦ νά λαμβάνης τήν πρός τοῦτο ἄδειαν παρά τῆς ἀρμοδίας ἀρχῆς ὅπερ εἰς τό μέλλον ὅφειλετε νά πράττητε διά τά περαιτέρω.

"Η Γενική ἐπιτροπή Χαλκίδος, Οἰκονόμος Νικόλαος Ζαφειρόπουλος,
Σακελλάριος Παντολέον Τσάλης. Σκευοφύλαξ Γεωργίος Φαρμακίδης"

[L. Pavlou, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως ως Ἱεροκήρυκας Εύβοίας (Chalkis, Euboea, 1989) 11-13].

²²¹ibid., p. 13.

²²²Saint Nectarios' resignation says the following :

"Ἐν Χαλκίδι τῇ 9^ῃ Ιουλίου 1892.

Πρός τήν αὐτοῦ Σεβασμιότητα τόν Μητροπολίτην Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Πρόεδρον τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου Κύριον Γερμανόν

'Ο ύποφαίνομενος ἀδυνατῶν νά πληρώσω μετ' ἀκριβείας τά καθήκοντα τοῦ Ἱεροκήρυκος ἐν τῷ Νομῷ Εύβοίας ύποβάλλω τήν παραίτησίν μου διατελῶν μετά τοῦ προσήκοντος σεβασμοῦ.

'Ο Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς'[L. Pavlou, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως ως Ἱεροκήρυκας Εύβοίας (Chalkis, Euboea, 1989) 13-14; Εύριπος (Chalkis) 1366 (18.7.1892) 3].

published the wanderings of the Metropolitan. In its comments, it mentioned:

.... the Sacred Preacher of the Province of Euboea Mgr. Nectarios Kephalas arrived from his travels. Tomorrow he will celebrate a archiearchical memorial service for the repose of the soul of the late Eminent Archbishop Christophoros Stamatiades of Chalkis in the Sacred Metropolitan church of Saint Demetrios.²²³

3. Candidate Archbishop of Chalkis

In April 1892, by various publications in the press and by resolutions, the Christians of the Archdiocese of Chalkis whose Archiepiscopal See had been vacant for over one year, expressed their desire to appoint their Preacher as the Shepherd of the Archdiocese.²²⁴ The expression of the deep love of the devout flock towards the distinguished hierarch and incomparable preacher brought out the human weakness of the Archimandrite Chrysanthos Antoniadis, headmaster of the Ecclesiastical School who, having failed six times to be elected as Metropolitan to one of the vacant Sees of the Greek Kingdom, had coveted this Metropolis. He, fearing the election of Nectarios to this post, published a study in *Evripo*s by the title of *Study on the Canon Law of the Eastern Orthodox Church* for the purpose of proving, on the one hand the uncanonical status of the publications of the devout Christians which supported

²²³ *Evripo*s wrote :

"Αφίκετο ἐκ τῆς περιοδείας του ὁ Ἱεροκήρυξ τοῦ Νομοῦ Εύβοίας κ. Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως. Αὔριον τελεῖται ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ Ναῷ τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου, Ἀρχιερατικόν Μνημόσυνον ὑπέρ ἀναπαύσεως τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ πέρυσι μεταστάντος Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Χαλκίδος Χριστοφόρου Σταματιάδη ὑπό τοῦ ἀνηφιοῦ αὐτοῦ Σταματίου Σταματιάδη, δικηγόρου."

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1396 (27.2.1893) 3].

²²⁴ Metr. Ch. Themelis, "Εύβοϊκή Ἀγιολογία," *Θεολογία* (Athens) 53 (1982) 407; *Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1409 (5.6.1893) 3-4.

the candidacy of Nectarios, and on the other hand the anticanonicity of the Saint who left the area in which he was elected by God. Archimandrite Antoniadis accused Nectarios of having abandoned the place where he was elected to serve, having false information or ~~not~~ knowing the fact that the Saint was violently removed from Cairo. The attitude of Chrysanthos' published article was the following:

Our Holy Church through its Holy Synods has taken the privilege of choosing bishops away from the laity. This was decided in order to avoid uprisings and riots on the part of the laity and also to avoid illiterate and poorly suited persons from this high ecclesiastical position. Besides, it is forbidden for a bishop to desert the church that he was ordained for and emigrate to another.²²⁵

The Saint, in reality, never voluntarily sought to abandon the position in which he had been called to serve in Cairo, but he was compulsorily rejected by the Patriarchate of the Alexandrian Church. The two Patriarchal Communications which he received from Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in 1890²²⁶, and also the

²²⁵Archim. Antoniadis' article said the following:

"Αφορμήν εἰς σύνταξιν τῆς βραχυτάτης ταύτης μελέτης ἐπί του Κανονικοῦ Δικαίου τῆς ήμετέρας Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας ἔδωκέ μοι ἡ δημοσίευσις ἀναφορῶν πολιτῶν τινῶν τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ Χριστεπωνύμου πληρώματος τῆς χηρευσάσης Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Χαλκίδος. Αἱ ἀναφοραί ἐκεῖναι σκοπὸν είχον τὴν λαϊκήν σύστασιν τοῦ νῦν Ἱεροκέρυκος ἐν τῷ Νομῷ Εύβοίας καὶ Σεβ. Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως κ. Νεκταρίου, πρός ἐγκατάστασιν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ χηρευούσῃ ἔδρᾳ τῆς Ἀγιωτάτης Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Χαλκίδος. Ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις σκοποῦμεν νά ύποδείξωμεν, τό ἀνωφελές καὶ παράνομον τῶν τοιούτων ἀναφορῶν, ἀτε τῶν Ἑκκλησιαστικῶν Κανόνων κωλυόντων τὸν λαόν τοῦ ἐκλέγειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ πρό πάντων, ὅτι τό καταλείπειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τὴν παροικίαν, ἦν ύπό τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκληρώθη, είναι ὥσαύτως ἔκνομον καὶ ἀντικανονικόν. Ποιοῦμεν δέ τοῦτο, ὅπως περιφρουρίσωμεν, τό ἐφ ήμιν, τούς μάλλον εὐπίστους περί τά τοιαῦτα καὶ τούς ἀδαεῖς τῶν πατρώων ἡμῶν Ἑκκλησιαστικῶν θεσμῶν".

[Archim. Ch. Antoniadis, "Μελέτη ἐπί τοῦ Κανονικοῦ Δικαίου τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας περί Κανόνων τῆς Ἑκκλησίας," *Εὔριπος* (Chalkis) 1402 (April 17, 1893) 2].

²²⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)* (Athens, 1985) 46-47.

letters that Saint Nectarios addressed in the years 1894-1895 to the Patriarchs, Sophronios and Photios of Alexandria, and Joachim the 3rd of Constantinople,²²⁷ proved the groundlessness of the writings of Chrysanthos, and witnessed to the truth. Nectarios uncomplainingly accepted the accusations of Chrysanthos, preferring to be unjustly accused rather than to defend his reputation, because he did not wish to irritate Patriarch Sophronios. In the end, Evgenios Depastas was elected the Bishop of Chalkis.²²⁸

Metropolitan Nectarios continued his journeys throughout the Province of Euboia. According to *Evripo*s in August 1893, the Saint of Pentapolis went over to Kyme on the invitation of the Bishop of Karystia to replace him during the Feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos.²²⁹

4. Preacher of the Province of Phthiotis-Phokis

Nectarios was transferred to the post of Sacred Preacher of the Province of Phthiotis-Phokis, because this area needed the service of a good preacher more strongly. The news of his transfer

²²⁷ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 50-55.

²²⁸ The Archbishop of Chalkis was ordained in Athens on the 1st of August 1893. He took over his duties at the beginning of September of the same year (1893) until 1902 when he died [Εύριπος (Chalkis) 1410 (31.7.1893) 1; 1417 (7.8.1893) 1. Cf. also, J. Konstantinidis, "Μητρόπολις Χαλκίδος," Θρησκευτική καὶ Ήθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία 12 (1968) 60; Archim. Ch. Themelis, "'Εκκλησιαστικά Εύβοϊκά Σεμνώματα ἐν οἷς ὁ ἀօίδιμος Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," in Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 257-260.

²²⁹ *Evripo*s remarks these :

"Μετά βραχυχρόνιον ἐνταῦθα διατριβήν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Κύμην πρό πινος ὁ Ἱεροκήρυξ Εύβοίας Κ. Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως προσκληθείς ὑπό τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Καρυστίας ὅπως ἀναπληρώσει αὐτὸν κατά τὴν ἔορτήν τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου καθ' ἣν τελείται ἐκεῖ μεγάλη πανήγυρις."

[Εύριπος (Chalkis) 1418 (21.8.1893) 3. Cf. also, Archim. Ch. Themelis, "'Εκκλησιαστικά Εύβοϊκά Σεμνώματα ἐν οἷς ὁ ἀօίδιμος Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," in Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 260-261; L. Pavlou, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως ὡς Ιεροκήρυκας Εύβοίας (Chalkis, Euboia, 1989) 17-18].



upset the people of Euboia, and through a letter from their mayor, K. Saraphianos, which was sent to Metropolitan Nectarios on 10 September 1893, they expressed their sorrow at his departure, and also their gratitude for his preaching activities and writings. The letter Nectarios received from Kyme was the following:

Your Eminence,

Our town, together with the whole county would like to express our sorrow because of your departure from the Province of Euboia where you preached for two and a half years. The general good will and respect which has been expressed by all the county indicative of the love you have instilled in us through your sermons on Christian life. Having been a prime example of one who lives a Christian life, with your caring and help, we have come to regard you as a dear friend. Kyme, along with the county of Karystos will always remember you fondly for this. The innumerable holy writings you published here for our spiritual benefit will further rouse our memory of you for years and years to come.

We would have considered ourselves very fortunate if our expressed wishes to the Honorable Ministry were answered and we had you among us for many years. However, since it has been decided by the Director of Church Affairs to send you elsewhere, we revere their decision and will all due respect, pray for your continued good health and general welfare. Furthermore, we ask that Your Grace will never cease praying for us in his supplications to God. In full acceptance of all your benedictions and blessings, we kiss your right hand and remain forever grateful to you.

Kyme, September 20, 1893
The Mayor of Kyme: K. Sarafianos²³⁰

²³⁰Mayor Saraphianos' letter has as follows :

"Σεβασμιώτατε,

'Η ήμετέρα πόλις, μεθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἐπαρχίας ἐκφράζει δὶ' ἐμοῦ πρός τήν Ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα τήν λύπην ἐπί τῇ ἀναχωρήσει Αὔτης ἐκ τοῦ Νομοῦ Εύβοιας, ἐν ώ̄ ἐπί δύο καὶ ἡμισυ ἔτη, ὡ̄ς ιεροκήρυξ ἐν αὐτῷ διετρίψατε.

'Η ἐκδηλωθείσα παρ' ὅλης τῆς Ἐπαρχίας γενική εὔνοια πρός τήν Ὑμ. Σεβασμιότητα καὶ ὁ ἀπόλυτος σεβασμός, οὐδὲν ἀπολαύει ἀπό πάσης ἡλικίας, είναι ἔνδειξις τῶν αἰσθημάτων τῶν καρδιῶν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐπαρχίας, ἃς διά τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῆς καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς πολιτείας τῆς κατέκτησεν.

'Η Κύμη καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ἄπασα ἡ Ἐπαρχία Καρυστίας, ἡδέως πάντοτε θά ἀναμιμνήσκηται τῆς μεταξύ ἡμῶν παρουσίας τῆς τῆς τοσοῦτον καταστάσης προσφιλοῦς. Αἱ ἐναποληφθεῖσαι αὐτῇ ιεραί συγγραφαί τῆς, ἃς

*Evripo*s , too, inserted an article in which there was a brief sketch of the personality of the Metropolitan, his profound erudition, his rhetorical competence, the originality of the subjects he used in his sermons and the faultless performance of his Episcopal duties.²³¹

ύπέρ αὐτῆς ἔξεπόνησε καί ἐδημοσίευσεν, ἔσονται ἐνδελεχεῖς ἀφορμαί πρός ἀνάμνησιν.

Ἐντυχεῖς θά ἐλογίζομεθα, ἐάν αἱ ἐκφρασθεῖσαι καὶ διαβιβασθεῖσαι πρός τὸ Σ. Ὑπουργεῖον εὐχαί ἡμῶν, εἰσηκούντο καὶ ἀπελαμβάνομεν τὴν εὐτυχίαν, νά ἔχωμεν τὴν Ὅ. Σεβασμιότητα ἐπί πλείονας χρόνους μεθ' ἡμῶν. Ἐπειδή ὅμως ἄλλως ἔδοξε τοῖς ίθυνούσι τὰ τῆς Ἔκκλησίας, τῆς προνοούσης ὑπέρ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς, εὐλαβούμεθα τάς ἀποφάσεις Αὐτῶν καὶ προπέμπομεν τὴν Ὅμ. Σεβασμιότητα μετά τῆς ὀφειλομένης πρός Αὐτήν εὔνοίας καὶ εὐχόμεθα ὀλοψύχως ὑπέρ τῆς κατευνοδώσεως καὶ διατηρήσεως τῆς ὑγείας Αὐτῆς 'εἰς ἔτη πολλά'. Παρακαλοῦμεν δέ, ὅπως καὶ ἡ Ὅ. Σεβασμιότης μή διαλείπῃ, εὐχομένη ὑπέρ ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς πρός τὸν Θεόν ἐντεύξεσιν Αὐτῆς.

'Απεκδεχόμενοι τάς ύμετέρας εὐχάς καὶ εὐλογίας καὶ κατασπαζόμενοι τὴν Υμετέραν Δεξιάν, διατελοῦμενέσαιεύγνωμονες.

'Ἐν Κύμη τῇ 10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1893.

'ΟΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΕΥΟΥΣΗΣ.

'ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΚΑΡΥΤΙΑΣ

'Κ. ΣΑΡΑΦΙΑΝΟΣ"

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 59; Metr. Ch. Themelis, "Εύβοϊκή Αγιολογία," Θεολογία (Athens) 53 (1982) 407].

231 *Evripo*s' article has as follows :

"Μετά λύπης ἐμάθομεν, ὅτι ὁ Ἱεροκήρυξ τοῦ Νομοῦ Εύβοίας κ. Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς, Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως, μετετέθη ὡς τοιοῦτος εἰς τὸν Νομόν Φθιώτιδος καὶ Φωκίδος. Πρό τριετίας περίου διορισθείς Ἱεροκήρυξ, ἐδείχθη ἀντάξιος τῶν καθηκόντων, ἀτίνα ἀνέθηκαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ Ἔκκλησία. Διά τῆς εὐφραδείας καὶ πειθοῦς τοῦ λόγου του κατεκήλησε πολλάκις τὰ ὡτα τῶν ἐκκλησιαζομένων καὶ προσείλκυσε τὸν σεβασμόν αὐτῶν. Ἀνήρ λίαν εὐπαίδευτος καὶ κεκτημένος πάσας τάς γνώσεις, δσαι ἀπαιτοῦνται, ἵνα εύδοκιμήσῃ τις ἐν τῇ ἀπ' ἄμβωνος ρήτορειά, διαφέρει τῶν συνήθων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ρητόρων, ὃν ἡ ρήτορική ἱκανότης περιορίζεται εἰς ὀλίγας κοινοτυπίας καὶ ἀφορήτους χειρονομίας. Ἐν ἐκάστῳ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἔξευρίσκει καὶ νέον θέμα, ὅπερ πραγματεύεται φιλοσοφικῶτατα καὶ εὐφραδέστατα, ἀπέχων ἡκιστα ἀξιοπρεπῶν κινήσεων καὶ σχημάτων. Οὐ μόνον δέ, ὡς Ἱεροκήρυξ ἐπιμήθη λίαν, ἀλλά καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκτελέσει Ἀρχιερατικῶν καθηκόντων, ἐνταῦθα μέν μετά τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Χριστοφόρου, ἐν Κααρυστίᾳ δέ κατά τάς ἀπονύσιας τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου Μακαρίου. Διά τοῦτο σφοδράν πάντες αἰσθάνονται λύπην διά τὴν μετάθεσιν τόσον ἱκανού τοῦ θείου λόγου καὶ εὔχονται, ὅπως καὶ ὁ διάδοχος αὐτοῦ είναι ἀντάξιος τοῦ προκατόχου."

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1418 (21.8.1893) 2. Cf. also, Archim. Ch. Themelis, "Ἐκκλησιαστικά Εύβοϊκά Σεμνώματα ἐν οἷς ὁ ἀοιδίμος Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος," in Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 260].

At the beginning of October 1893, we are informed by *Evripis* that Metropolitan Nectarios was in Lamia.²³² Immediately after his appointment, he started his journeys throughout the Province, visiting the towns of : Amphissa, Domokos and Atalante.²³³ The biographies of Saint Nectarios mention a monumental sermon which he gave in Galaxidi. He went there to console some families who had lost their relatives in a shipwreck. In his sermon, the Saint spoke about the value of the Mediatrix of the world, the Theotokos, who hears the prayers of all and intercedes with her Son, Jesus Christ the Savior of the whole of humanity. Nectarios wished his audience to acquire the great virtue of patience which adorns the All-Holy-One (The Theotokos), who endured Her Son's sacrifice on the Cross for the salvation of the human race. The suffering people of God were consoled through the Saint's words, and petitioned him to remain at hand, so he continued in Galaxidi for three more days, encouraging and enlivening the faith of the Christians of the area.²³⁴

Immediately after this event, Nectarios returned to Lamia. There he made the acquaintance of the Sakkopoulos family and, appreciating the moral qualities of the son of the family, called Costes, he undertook his protection until the close of his life. Costes became Nectarios's most faithful attendant and trusty servant, who devoted his life as a vigilant guardian of the Holy

²³²*Evripis* wrote :

"Ανεχώρησεν εἰς Λαμίαν ὁ ἐκεῖ μετατεθείς 'Ιεροκήρυξ κ. Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς, Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως."

[*Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1424 (2.10.1893) 3].

²³³S. Hondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – 'Ο'Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: 'Ιερά Μονή 'Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης, 1973) 90. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ό Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 48.

²³⁴S. Hondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – 'Ο'Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: 'Ιερά Μονή 'Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης, 1973) 91. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ό Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 47.

Trinity Convent, Aegina. A marvelous dream that Metropolitan Nectarios experienced is connected with this period of his life and he recounted it to the Sakkopoulos family. This dream confirmed in Nectarios' mind that the Lady Theotokos protected him and blessed his spiritual work.²³⁵

Nectarios remained no more than six months in the post of Preacher of the Province of Phthiotis-Phokis.²³⁶ His fame was spreading in the ecclesiastical and political circles of that time as a holy and learned man. His qualifications led to his appointment as administrator of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary from the beginning of March 1894.

5. The Writings of this Period

1) The Ecumenical Synods of Christ's Church

As we have already mentioned, Nectarios during his ministry in Alexandria had his writing published with the title, *On the Sacred Synods and on the Importance of the First Two Ecumenical Synods* (1888). Not foreseeing his rejection from the above Patriarchate, he wished to complete his work with an extensive exposition of the five Ecumenical Synods which followed. Metropolitan Nectarios' thought materialized in 1892 when he was serving as Preacher in the Province of Euboea. His new study entitled *The Ecumenical*

²³⁵"One night the 'Lady Theotokos' flanked by two hierarchs, appeared in his sleep. He thought that they were Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory Palamas. The 'Lady Theotokos' in a marvellous brightness revealed to him that they might take him into their company, but the Lord wanted him to remain for the benefit of the faithful people" [S. Hondropoulos, 'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – Ο "Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης, 1973) 92. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ό Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 47].

²³⁶Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος ό Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 45.

Synods of Christ's Church was published in Athens by his friend Professor P. Kaplanides in a second edition revised and expanded.²³⁷

In the preface of his work, Metropolitan Nectarios gave the reasons which led to this writing, and went on to explain the background of First Synod and then the other Ecumenical Synods, referring to the causes, the convocation and the collection of doctrinal texts which emerged from the Synods. He made the value of this work obvious, by closing with an exposition of each Synod. Throughout the work, Metropolitan Nectarios praised the universal dimensions of the achievement of the Synods, and marveled at the unity of so many peoples and ages through the use of one Symbol of Faith.

Concerning the Seventh and last Ecumenical Synod against Iconoclasm, the position of Saint Nectarios became the pretext for attacks and censure on him by a small team of speculative theologians led by the Nun Magdalene (excommunicated by the official Church of Greece in the days of Archbishop Seraphim of Athens, in 1976), who through a series of books spoke against Saint Nectarios from 1974 until the present. In her opinion the Saint was an iconoclast and a monk-hater, yet her argument fails for the following reasons:

a) At the time when Saint Nectarios wrote this work on the Ecumenical Synods, the newer outlook of the Byzantinists were not available to him. Therefore, he learned on the predominant interpretation which the scientific world of his age had accepted,

²³⁷ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Ai Οικουμενικαί Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἑκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 55-56. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 237.

that is, the one accepted by Constantine Paparegopoulos in his writing '*Iστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Εθνους*',²³⁸

b) Saint Nectarios considered Iconoclasm as a reformation, similar to the model of the religious Reformation in the West, and believed in the kind intention of the Iconoclasts who wanted to improve a bad situation in the Church,²³⁹

c) Saint Nectarios, for clearly apologetic reasons, proposed a healthy religious belief over against the magical superstitions which the fanatic monks and the common people had come to hold.²⁴⁰ The nineteenth century was a century of materialism and atheism, the genuine child of the previous century of enlightenment. The revolution in the area of positive science, determinism, and the attachment to general progress had obscured Byzantine history (the religious extremes are well-known from excessive popular devoutness, for example the scraping of the icons and the use of the shavings for philters etc.),

d) By nature, Saint Nectarios used mild language, even for heretics. So whenever he referred to the Iconoclast emperors, he spoke completely objectively as a third observer, as an impartial historian who saw historical events before him and calmly examined them,

e) Some manifestations of Saint Nectarios' life witness to the particular devoutness which he nurtured for the icons. Three examples from his life point to this. A beloved daily custom of the Saint before the service of Matins, in the Monastery of Aegina, was

²³⁸ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἑκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 44.

²³⁹ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἑκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 190.

²⁴⁰ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἑκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 177.

that of tearfully embracing the icon of the Crucified Christ behind the Holy Altar.²⁴¹ Nectarios as Archimandrite of the Patriarchate of Alexandria took care through his own initiative of the iconography of Saint Nicholas church in Cairo.²⁴² The deepest respect of the Saint for the icons culminated a short while before the end of his earthly life, where during his illness, he went over from his Convent to the Chrysoleontissa (Golden Lioness) Monastery in Aegina. He prayed with tearful eyes there, on his knees with his hands raised before the miraculous icon of the Theotokos,²⁴³

f) Saint Nectarios did not disapprove, either of monasticism or of honor^υ towards holy icons, the veneration of which is referred to in the "Festival of Orthodoxy."²⁴⁴ This is proved, on the one hand, by the attitude of Saint Nectarios towards the heterodox tactics of most of Byzantine monasticism concerning its reorganization "similar to the system of the Jesuits,"²⁴⁵ an element that the Icon-haters censured, and on the other hand, by the laudatory way that he speaks of the defenders of the holy icons; Saint John of Damascus the greatest part of whose "Apologetic Sermons" entitled "Towards those who calumniate the holy Icons" sets this out, and Saint Theodore of Studion.²⁴⁶ Saint Nectarios' love for monasticism was

²⁴¹Archim. Ch. Themelis, "'Εκκλησιαστικά Εύβοϊκά Σεμνώματα ἐν οἷς ὁ ἀοίδιμος Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος,' in Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως 1846–1920' (Athens, 1985) 266–267.

²⁴²Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 43. Cf. also, Metr. Matthaiakis, T., 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχηπάκι Επιστολάι πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης' (Athens, 1984), Letter No. 115 of 21 October 1907, p. 222; Monk Theodoretores (Hagioritan), 'Αποκαλυπτήρια μιᾶς ἀγιομάχου μοναχῆς' (Athens, 1976) 42.

²⁴³Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 91.

²⁴⁴Metr. N. Kephalas, *Ai Oίκουμενικαί Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 218.

²⁴⁵Metr. N. Kephalas, *Ai Oίκουμενικαί Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 183, 206.

²⁴⁶Metr. N. Kephalas, *Ai Oίκουμενικαί Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 183, 206.

proved by many events from his personal life, such as: a) The pilgrimages that he accomplished to Mount Athos in 1898 during his tenure as the Dean of Rizareios,²⁴⁷ b) The establishment of his Convent in the name of the Holy Trinity in 1904 where he remained for sixteen years until the end of his life.

The writings and the letters of the Saint, touching subjects concerning monasticism are the following: a) 136 *Catechetical Letters to the Sisterhood of the Sacred Convent of the Holy Trinity in Aegina*,²⁴⁸ b) *Study of Christian Ethics*, chapter "On virginity,"²⁴⁹ c) *Know Yourself*, chapter "On monastic life"; chapter "Epistolary Dissertation for the devout nun Eusebia,"²⁵⁰ d) *The Ecumenical Synods of Christ's Church*, chapter "The solitary and monastic life,"²⁵¹ e) *On the Dedication of Blessed Virgins to God and on Monasteries and the Monastic Life* (unpublished study),²⁵² f) Four letters to the Elder Daniel in Katounakia of Mount Athos: 1) Athens 30 March 1903, 2) Athens 26 January 1908, 3) Aegina 18 August 1913, 4) Aegina 6 December 1915,²⁵³ g) *A Consoling Letter on the Death of his Friend and Elder Pachomios to the Skete of the Holy Fathers in Chios* : Athens 2 November 1905,²⁵⁴ h) From an

²⁴⁷ Μετρ. Τ. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 71.

²⁴⁸ Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Επιστολαὶ πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984).

²⁴⁹ Εγχειρίδιον Χριστιανικῆς Ἡθικῆς (Athens, 1897) 85.

²⁵⁰ Τό γνωθι Σαύτόν ἡτοι μελέται θρησκευτικαὶ καὶ ἡθικαὶ εἰκονίζουσαι τὸν θρησκευτικὸν καὶ ἡθικὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἴνδαλματίζουσαι (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1904) 228, 242-258.

²⁵¹ Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας (Thessaloniki: Β. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 174-176.

²⁵² Περὶ τῆς ἀφιερώσεως τῷ Θεῷ ὄσίων παρθένων καὶ περὶ μονῶν καὶ μοναχικοῦ βίου.

²⁵³ "Επιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρός τὸν Γέροντα Δανιήλ," Ἀγγελικός Βίος (Thessaloniki: Ἐκδόσεις Μοναστικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Δανιηλαίων, 1982) 177-183.

²⁵⁴ Β. Yannakopoulou, "Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως παραμυθητική επιστολή διά τὸν θάνατον τοῦ φίλου καὶ Γέροντος Παχωμίου," *Ἐφημέριος* (Athens) 34 (December 1/15, 1986) 359-360.

undated letter to a monk,²⁵⁵ i) Two letters to Elder Pachomios in Mount Provation in Chios: 1) Athens 15 May 1902, 2) Athens 23 June 1903,²⁵⁶ ia) Study on the Holy Icons.²⁵⁷

2) The Sacred Memorial Services

In the second part of his study, *The Ecumenical Synods of Christ's Church*, Metropolitan Nectarios published the study, *The Sacred Memorial Services Served by Us*. The care of publishing both of these works was of his friend P. Kaplanides, Athens 1892.²⁵⁸ Metropolitan Nectarios published the above study for the purpose of "its being useful to many for their conscientious defense against those who dissent, and for the edification of the faithful."²⁵⁹

The study is divided into four parts. The first part is entitled *Preview* and deals with the immortality of the soul.²⁶⁰ The second part is entitled *The Catholic and Apostolic Church on Memorial Services* which develops the teaching about the Sacred Memorial Services, in agreement with the spirit of the Eastern Orthodox Church.²⁶¹ The third part is entitled *On the Sacred Memorial Services as Beneficial from the Apostolic Tradition*, and is comprised of evidence concerning the benefit of the sacred

²⁵⁵ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 191-192.

²⁵⁶ B. Yannakopoulou, "'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὸν Γέροντα Παχώμιον," *Ἐφημέριος* (Athens) 41 (April 15 - May 1, 1992) 121-122.

²⁵⁷ "Μελέτη περὶ τῶν ἀγίων εἰκόνων," *Ἀναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 26 (1902) 202-204; 27 (1902) 210-212; 28 (1902) 218-221; 29 (1902) 226-228; 30 (1902) 234-236; 31 (1902) 244-246; 32 (1902) 250-251; 33 (1902) 258-260; 34 (1902) 266-268; 35 (1902) 274; 36 (1902) 282-283.

²⁵⁸ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Ai Oikonomenvikai Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἑκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972) 41.

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁶⁰ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Tá παρ' ἡμῖν τελούμενα Ιερά Μνημόσυνα* (Athens: A. Κολλαράκη-Ν.Τριανταφύλλου, 1892) 7-24.

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp. 25-53.

Memorial Services, according to the New Testament, the Fathers of the Church, the Divine Liturgies, the Diptychs of the ancient Church, the Confessions and the Apostolic Canons.²⁶² The fourth part is entitled *On the Last Days, that is Concerning the State of the Souls before the Last Judgment, and about Paradise and Hell*, dealing with eschatology.²⁶³ This writing is dedicated to the memory of the author's parents and three of his brothers²⁶⁴, and was republished by himself in 1901²⁶⁵ in raised and expanded form.

3) On the Revelation of God in the World

The next writing published by Metropolitan Nectarios in 1892 is *On the Revelation of God in the World* which had been completed while still in Cairo, on 13 October 1890, but whose publication was delayed by his removal from the Patriarchate of Alexandria.²⁶⁶

This study, which is dedicated by the author to the noble and devout people of Chalkis and Kyme, is divided into five parts. In the first part, Metropolitan Nectarios set out to prove that miracles can be understood logically, are not threatened by the appearance of other supernatural laws and are a consequence of the Creator's love for His creation. The second part forms a more extensive development of the same subject. The writer progresses dialectically and refers to the conjecture that God is revealed in the world. The third part demonstrates through history, the revelation of God to the world, noting of all the prophecies

²⁶²ibid., pp. 54-96.

²⁶³ibid., pp. 96-115.

²⁶⁴Metr. N. Kephalas, *Τά παρ' ἡμῖν τελούμενα Ιερά Μνημόσυνα* (Athens: Α. Κολλαράκη - Ν. Τριανταφύλλου, 1892) 7-8.

²⁶⁵This writing of Saint Nectarios Nectarios was republished: first in 1973 in Thessaloniki, and the second in 1989 in Athens.

²⁶⁶L. Pavlou, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως ώς Ιεροκήρυκας Εύβοίας (Chalkis, Euboea, 1989) 10.

associated with the coming of the expected Messiah, and shows the results in the Person of Jesus Christ. The fourth part presents the prophecies relevant to the infidelity of the Jews, their country, and the conversion of the nations. In the fifth chapter, the author presents the prophecies which are associated with the punishment of the nations who afflicted the 'sons of Israel'.²⁶⁷ This study, distributed as a gift by Metropolitan Nectarios, led to reasonable correspondence from the people of Euboea also.²⁶⁸

4) On the Formulation Concerning Man

Yet another writing which the Metropolitan of Pentapolis published during his stay and ministry in Euboea in 1893, is *On the Formulation Concerning Man*.²⁶⁹ In the prologue of his work, he explains the reason for his writing, namely the debate which he had with a team of university students, who had upheld that the soul of man only differs quantitatively from the soul of animals. This urged him to compose a sixteen page study with the title *On the Relationship of the Soul of Man with the Animal*, aimed at the refutation of misleading opinions. Since this brief study did not fully satisfy the students, the author decided to study this more extensively, and go on to compose an enlarged new study. The product of his research, was his work *On the Formulation*

²⁶⁷ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Περί τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Athens: N. Παναγόπουλος 1989) 4-7.

²⁶⁸"Εὔριπος" in an article with the title "Books", presents this writing of Metropolitan Nectarios. In the beginning it refers to the sections of the book, and continues by commenting favourably about it [*Εὔριπος* (Chalkis) 1365 (11.7.1892) 4].

²⁶⁹This volume of Nectarios was republished: the first in 1978 in Athens and the second in 1986, in Piraeus in a modern Greek translation, from an unknown publisher and translator.

Concerning Man in which he dealt with man and the difference between him and the animals.²⁷⁰

The work is divided into four parts. In the first part man is examined bodily and psychologically in an effort to answer the question, 'What is Man'. In the second part the uniqueness of the human race is set forth. The third deals with the origin and the nature of the soul. The fourth and last part discusses the immortality of the soul.²⁷¹ The author's use of modern European philosophy, and that of the past, contributes to the usefulness and the value of this study which has been described as "the first Christian anthropology in the Modern Greek language."²⁷²

5) On the Truth and False Knowledge

Three published sermons provide an example of Nectarios' preaching in the Provinces of Euboea and Pthiotis-Phokis, with the general title *On the Truth and False Knowledge*.²⁷³ The first sermon²⁷⁴ was given by Metropolitan Nectarios on 8 November 1893 before the students of the High School of Lamia and entitled, *The Call of Youth in Society*.²⁷⁵ "It is an exhortation to virtue, stressing the importance of cultivating the virtues of piety, love of truth, moral wisdom, understanding, self-control, temperance and

²⁷⁰ *Γροτύπωσις περί ἀνθρώπου* (Athens, 1893); Reprinted (Athens: "Αγιος Νικόδημος, 1978) 5.

²⁷¹ ibid., p. 5.

²⁷² Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 238.

²⁷³ The previously mentioned writing of Saint Nectarios was republished in Athens: the first in 1983, and the second in 1989.

²⁷⁴ The presentation of the sermons does not follow the chronological order in which they were given, but their publication order.

²⁷⁵ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Περί τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἀληθοῦς καὶ ψευδοῦς μορφώσεως* (Athens: N. Παναγόπουλος, 1989) 3, 16.

justice."²⁷⁶ The second sermon was given by the Metropolitan on 21 August 1893 at the inauguration of the Gymnastic Society of Kyme of Euboia and has the title *Sermon on Gymnastics*.²⁷⁷ In this, the author looks at physical exercise from the ethical standpoint, as an essential part of developing the total human being in which the body, being healthy and strong, can serve as an instrument of the soul.²⁷⁸ The third sermon which he gave in Lamia on 20 November 1893, is entitled *Writing on Suicide*.²⁷⁹ In this, he discusses the factors that dispose persons to commit suicide, the means of preventing or curbing suicide, and the Church's refusal to bury those who have committed suicide.²⁸⁰

6) On the Care of the Soul

The work that Metropolitan Nectarios published as the Preacher of the Province of Phthiotis-Phokis was *On the Care of the Soul*. It was printed in February 1894 in Athens, published at the expense of the Merchant Association of the people of Lamia, and distributed free.²⁸¹

This work contains thirteen homilies. In the first four homilies, the writer discusses man's inner freedom, his God-given powers of free choice and self-control, which together are denoted by the patristic term αὐτεξούσιον. Saint Nectarios notes that

²⁷⁶C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 25-26.

²⁷⁷Metr. N. Kephalas, *Περί τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἀληθοῦς καὶ ψευδοῦς μορφώσεως* (Athens: Ν. Παναγόπουλος, 1989) 19-22.

²⁷⁸C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 26.

²⁷⁹Metr. N. Kephalas, *Περί τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἀληθοῦς καὶ ψευδοῦς μορφώσεως* (Athens: Ν. Παναγόπουλος, 1989) 23, 39.

²⁸⁰C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 26.

²⁸¹This study of Saint Nectarios was republished in Athens in 1973, 1975, and 1986.

αὐτεξούσιον, αὐτοσυνειδησία (self-consciousness) and λόγος (reason) are elements of the image of God, contained in each man's soul. It is these that differentiate and elevate man above the beasts, and render him a moral being, responsible for his actions.²⁸² The fifth homily refers to sin, which according to the author, "is a great evil, because it poisons the soul, putting disease engendering seeds in it, weakening and corrupting it, finally preparing it for its death."²⁸³ Repentance follows sin and consists of the soul's return to God, communicating together with Him and seeking divine mercy. This constitutes the central meaning of the sixth homily.²⁸⁴ The seventh homily refers again to repentance and satisfaction of the offended divine justice and also to the presuppositions of salvation.²⁸⁵ In the last two homilies, eight and nine, the writer connects repentance with confession. Turning the discussion to the Mystery of Confession he says that it is necessary because "a) it is a commandment of God; b) it restores peace between God and man; and c) it benefits man morally and spiritually."²⁸⁶

The sermons referred to above are dedicated to the Divine Eucharist. Nectarios calls the Divine Communion "the most wonderful of wonders, the highest which the Wisdom of God derived and the most worthy of all the gifts which the love of God presented to men."²⁸⁷ When one receives Holy Communion duly prepared, the sins within his soul are burned up, he is filled with Divine Grace, all his powers are strengthened, the mind is illumined and the heart is

²⁸²C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 30.

²⁸³Metr. N. Kephalas, *Περὶ ἐπιμελείας ψυχῆς* (Athens, 1986) 38.

²⁸⁴ibid., pp. 52-56.

²⁸⁵ibid., pp. 57-72.

²⁸⁶ibid., p. 78.

²⁸⁷ibid., p. 105. Cf. also, Archim. D. Aerakis, *Κλήματα τῆς Αμπέλου* (Athens, 1989) 140-141.

filled with reverence for God.²⁸⁸ Saint Nectarios makes use of the Bible and the writings of the Fathers of the Church, especially of Saint Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Athanasius the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory the Theologian, John of the Ladder etc..²⁸⁹

7) Correspondence

Although he left Egypt, he maintained his correspondence with Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria. In the *Index of Letters and Manuscripts to His All-Holiness*, two letters of 1893, addressed by Metropolitan Nectarios to the Patriarch Sophronios, have been recorded. The first was sent from Kyme of Euboea, dated August 25, 1893,²⁹⁰ and the second from Lamia, dated November 11, 1893.²⁹¹ In these, the Metropolitan asked to return and stay in the Patriarchate, near the patriarchal library of Alexandria, in order to continue the writing of his treatises. The letter of Patriarch Sophronios to Metropolitan Nectarios in Kyme, dated 9 September 1893, which is kept in the Archives of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, informed Nectarios that Sophronios received his book *An Outline on Man*.²⁹² The exchange of letters between Nectarios and Patriarch Sophronios points to Nectarios' ability to forgive past

²⁸⁸ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Περί ἐπιμελείας ψυχῆς* (Athens, 1986) 124. Cf. also, Archim. D. Aerakis, *Κλήματα τῆς Ἀμπέλου* (Athens, 1989) 143.

²⁸⁹ C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 32.

²⁹⁰ G. Triantaphyllakis, "Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 21/22 (November 1, 1961) 295. Cf. also, *Εύρετήριον ἐπιστολῶν καὶ ἔγγραφων πρὸς τὴν Α. Θ. Παναγιότητα, τὸν Πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρείας Σωφρόνιον* (Record Nos. 219, 261).

²⁹¹ G. Triantaphyllakis, "Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως," *Πάνταινος* (Alexandria) 21/22 (November 1, 1961) 297.

²⁹² *Πρωτόκολλον εἰσερχομένων καὶ ἐξερχομένων ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1886–1889)* (Record No. 180, p. 82).

wrongs, and to his hope of returning to Egypt that his work there could continue.

PART FOUR: THE THEOLOGIAN (1894-1908)

1. Nectarios' Appointment to Rizareios Seminary

Metropolitan Nectarios worked as a Preacher in the Province of Phthiotis-Phokis until his appointment as Dean of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Rizareios. This was confirmed by document number 3721 of 8 March 1894 of the Ministry of Ecclesiastics and Public Education, by Royal Decree issued in Athens, on 1 May 1894, according to the 19th., 20th., and 21st. articles of the Organization of Rizareios, and according to the proposition of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs.²⁹³

Near the Royal Palace, on an avenue which was then called Ampelokepoi, stood the buildings which served as the Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary. An imposing wall surrounded the complex which was built through the generosity of Manthos and George Rizaris who had made their fortune in Russia. George Rizaris actually did the work of seeing that the funds which they had collected would be put to use since his brother had died before seeing the dream materialize. The complex which was referred to simply as the "Priests' School" by its neighbors, includes a courtyard with trees and a small chapel lovingly dedicated to Saint George in honor of the school's benefactor.

The institution was governed by a ten-member governing committee under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education, according to the laws set forth by its founders. The members were elected by notable and distinguished citizens, and according to founders' guidelines, they had to be

²⁹³Metr. T. Matthaiakis, ΟἽαγος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 59-60.

divided as follows: four had to be from Zagorochoria of Epirus, one from Yannina, two from Smyrna, and the remaining three from Thessaly, Crete and Chios.²⁹⁴

Metropolitan Germanos Kalligas of Athens, believing that the virtues of Nectarios would benefit the Church, warmly supported his candidature for the post of Dean of Rizareios Seminary.²⁹⁵ The official welcome for the new Dean of the Seminary took place on the 1st of March 1894. ·Speeches, addresses and replies were exchanged before the students, teachers and the Governing Councilors of the Seminary.²⁹⁶

2. Nectarios' Effect as Dean of the Seminary

Prior to the appointment of Nectarios to Rizareios, the Seminary was in disarray. When he undertook its administration, harmony and peace were re-established. Due to his qualifications he was strongly recommended by the governors of the school, the students and the teachers.²⁹⁷

The Dean was appointed to teach certain lessons, such as Christian Ethics, Pastoral Study, and Orthodox Sacred Catechism. The rich theological and secular knowledge which was held by the Dean and the teachers of the Seminary explains why Rizareios had obtained fame and a brilliant reputation even beyond the limits of the then Hellenic Kingdom. The professors of the Seminary were distinguished for excellence in their own sciences, for the

²⁹⁴S. Hondropoulos, *'Ο ἄγιος τοῦ αἰώνα μας – Ο”Οσιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς* (Aegina: Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης, 1973) 81.

²⁹⁵N. Metaxas, N., *'Ο Μητροπολίτης Αθηνῶν Γερμανός Καλλιγᾶς 1844–1896* (Athens, 1972) 61.

²⁹⁶Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 51.

²⁹⁷Archim. Ch. Papadopoulos, *'Ιστορία τῆς Ριζαρείου Εκκλησιαστικῆς Σχολῆς* (Athens, 1919) 162-163, 165.

seriousness of their ethos and for their ecclesiastical zeal. It is notable that a majority rose to the honor of professor in the university. Although a century and half have passed since the foundation of the Seminary (1844), nevertheless Rizareios maintains the splendor of the past to this day, and holds a position of pride among the other Ecclesiastical Seminaries of the Balkans. Because of its great contribution to the Greek nation and to the Church, Rizareios has recently been honored with the gold medal of the Academy of Athens.

Nectarios spent his powers in his educational work, in the shaping of the souls of the students, through the formation of clerical consciousness and ecclesiastical ethos. "He brought another spirit into the school, which was not known by those within the foundation of the Seminary and it constituted a challenge. It was the spirit of devout piety and virtue. He based his entire educational system on faith in Christ, on the life in Christ. Nectarios was not an educator in the common meaning of the word, but a wise 'pedagogist in Christ,' a mystic of spiritual life, a soul activated by the uncreated energies of the Holy Spirit, full of 'the fruit of the Spirit,' with deep experience in Christ."²⁹⁸

The Bishop had boundless tolerance and magnanimity with which he succeeded in overcoming the immaturity of the young, without wounding their spirits. "He even tolerated being laughed at on occasion and when he had discerned that someone lied, he did not forcibly, authoritatively or oppressively intervene in order to overcome the sinner. This love and appreciation towards immature children brought them to a consciousness of their fault and later, to

²⁹⁸Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 30-51, 67.

repentance and improvement. He preferred to subject himself to discipline, for example by fasting, when his discernment informed him that punishment would create repulsion and animosity or psychological wounds. Although perhaps in some situations the Saint used the pedagogic method of strictness when the circumstances demanded such, the pastoral way of love, of goodness and his paternal Episcopal courage always prevailed."²⁹⁹

Metropolitan Nectarios was often found in the chapel before the services of Mattins and Vespers, and throughout the day. He did not stand in the hierachal throne, but in a common seat which was found to the right of the cantors' seats. He did this both to set an example of ecclesiastical attendance, and because he took pride in hearing the two choirs of students who sang the services. The dean felt deep emotion when he heard the seminarians singing his hymns from the "Theotokarion" and from the "Hymn to the Divine Love." He himself often took care of the cleanliness of the chapel, of the sanctuary and of the vestments.³⁰⁰

Nectarios presence did much to spread the Seminary's fame, so much so that a great number of people came from Athens and Piraeus to attend the contritional services which the Bishop held in the chapel, and to hear his sermons. The governors of the school were forced to issue an entrance ticket with which some could follow the Liturgy in the chapel of Saint George as result of

²⁹⁹Protopresb. Sarantós, S., "Η πλούσια προσφορά του Αγίου Νεκταρίου στήν Εκκλησία και στήν Πολιτεία," *Κοινωνία* (Athens) 32 (April/June, 1989) 177-178.

³⁰⁰Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 277. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος όθανυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 56-57.

crowding.³⁰¹ "His liturgy was a mystagogy and gathered together the complement of the church in the Trinitarian God."³⁰²

Nectarios was a model of humility. Some noticed that the Bishop had subjected himself to a great depth of humility even to the point of taking care of the Seminary's physical maintenance.³⁰³ Such gave a distinguished sweetness to the Dean of Rizareios, observed by the Seminarians who, in their discussions talked about the blessed personality and the rich knowledge of their teacher.³⁰⁴

Nectarios worked there for a total of fourteen years. During this period he educated many students in the way of Christ. His fourteen-year ministry produced a remarkable number of clergymen and lay scientists who distinguished themselves by their theological formation and their high morals. During the administration of Metropolitan Nectarios (1894-1908), a Copt student from Rizareios mounted the Patriarchal Throne of the Coptic Church in Egypt, nine Seminarians were elected as Metropolitans, many of whom were ordained priests, some were professors of the University of Athens: three of Theology, one of Philosophy and one of Dentistry, two were elected as rectors of the University, and presidents of the Academy of Athens, one became a

³⁰¹ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 308. Cf. also, J. Tsatsaronakis, "'Ο νέος μυροβλύτης - 'Η Αἴγινα πανηγυρίζει αύριον τὸν προστάτην τῆς "Αγίου Νεκτάριον - 'Ο σοφός Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως καὶ Διευθυντής τῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς - Τό ιερό σκήνωμα πού εύωδιάζει," *Βραδυνή* (Athens) (8.11.1955) 3-4; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 85, 99.

³⁰² Protopresb. Sarantos, S., "Η πλούσια προσφορά τοῦ 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου στὴν Ἑκκλησία καὶ στὴν Πολιτεία," *Κοινωνία* (Athens) 32 (April/June, 1989) 178.

³⁰³ Archim. Giannaros, P., *Στά ίχνη τοῦ καλοῦ Ποιμένος* (Oropos/Attica, 1980) 10. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 359.

³⁰⁴ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 276.

minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and one a lecturer of the University.³⁰⁵

3. Nectarios' Extra-Curricular Activity

1) Recognition from the Church and State

Metropolitan Nectarios was not limited to the performance of duties exclusively related to Rizareios Seminary, but with them also developed important extra-circular activity in Athens, Piraeus and the suburbs. The State honored him many times, entrusting him with the task of adjudicator for many educational subjects, as in the year 1894 for example, when he was appointed "judge over the philosophic preparatory education and pedagogy in the teaching for Higher Education."³⁰⁶

The Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece honored the learned hierarch, and expressed its pleasure, congratulating him for his publication of theological writings. Each Metropolitan of Athens entrusted him with the ordinations of deacons and presbyters, the interrogation of defendant clerics, or called him to conferences on diverse themes for the public good. In 1905, Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens had commissioned the teaching of lessons to the chantors of Athens. In 1908, Theokletos had commissioned Nectarios for the ministry of preacher in the churches of Piraeus, in an effort to combat heresies. Certainly, the preaching activity of

³⁰⁵ Ριζάρειος Ἑκκλησιαστική Σχολή – Πανηγυρικός Τόμος ἐπί τῆ 125ετηρίδι (1844–1969) (Athens) (1969) 115, 133–138. Cf. also, A. Kottidakis, Συναξάρι "3" τοῦ 20ου αἰώνα – Φιλόθεος Ζερβάκος, Ἀμφιλόχιος Μακρῆς, Ἱερώνυμος Σιμωνοπετρίτης, Ἀγγελος Νησιώτης, Δημήτριος Γκαγκαστάθης, Ἀνθimos Βαγιάνος, Ἀθανάσιος Χαμακιώτης (Athens: Τίνος, 1989) 91–93; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, Ἀγγελος Νησιώτης – Μεγάλη ἑκκλησιαστική μορφή (1890–1970) (Athens, 1972) 14–18, 106–108.

³⁰⁶ Document No. 5401 of 22 March 1894 of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 64. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 54–55].

the ardent Bishop was not limited to the Church of Piraeus, but was also extended to the churches of the capital and all the Attica.³⁰⁷ Nectarios received invitations from various charitable and communal associations, and was frequently commissioned as their honorary president.³⁰⁸

2) Moral Support for the People of Chios

Metropolitan Nectarios was particularly concerned about the Christians of the village of Lithi and all of Chios, where he had worked as a primary school teacher, monk and deacon. His great interest in the island was apparent from the correspondence which he maintained. Not only had Nectarios supported them financially through the benevolence of Syngros, but he also sent his books "gratis" to all the island's schools and libraries. Following a warm recommendation from the Metropolitan, Andreas Syngros, a banker of Chios, known throughout the whole Greek nation for his kind deeds, granted his assistance to the inhabitants of the island, particularly to his birth-place Lithi.

Nectarios loved the people of Lithi and sent them whatever he could throughout his life, so as to offer some assistance in their need. According to an official letter, dated September 14, 1895, which was given to Nectarios by the elders of Lithi, their needs were so extensive that they were desperate. They lost the two boats they had owned to the previous owners.³⁰⁹ Nectarios wrote to

³⁰⁷ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικά' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984), Letter No. 29 of 5 October 1905, and Letter No. 130 of 15 February 1908, pp. 85, 250.

³⁰⁸ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 64–65.

³⁰⁹ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 65.

Syngros on behalf of Chians, and Syngros kept his promise. Nectarios realized this when one day he received a letter of gratitude from the Chians, dated February 12, 1896.³¹⁰ On the death of Syngros a few years later in 1899, Metropolitan Nectarios came into contact with the executors of the will, to claim a sum of money left to his birth-place, as well as a special sum for the villagers of Lithi.³¹¹

3) Candidate Bishop of Chalkis

The ecclesiastical condition of Chalkis was restored by Metropolitan Nectarios in 1907. Those from Chalkis, having kind memories of Nectarios from his three-year Diaconate in their city (1891-1893), sought the election of their former Preacher to the Episcopal throne of Chalkis by a petition in "Evripos," and by a request to the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece.³¹² This event was described in the unpublished letters, which Nectarios sent at that time to the president of the Commercial Association of Chalkis, B. Georgiades, and to the Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens.³¹³ Also, in his Catechetical Letters to the Sisterhood of

³¹⁰ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 65.

³¹¹ ibid., pp. 65-68.

³¹² *Εύριπος* (Chalkis) 1968 (28.5.1907) 2.

³¹³ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Επιστολαὶ πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 205, 207.

The following letters which Saint Nectarios sent to the President of the Commercial Assosiation, B. Georgiades, and to the President of the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece, Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens, are a product of my research at the Archives of Rizareios Seminary :

"ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ
ΡΙΖΑΡΕΙΟΥΣΧΟΛΗΣ
'Αριθ. 2915

Βασίλειον Γεωργιάδην
Πρόεδρον τοῦ Εμπορικοῦ Συλλόγου Χάλκιδέων

Λαμβάνω τήν τιμήν νά δηλώσω ἐπισήμως πρός τήν Υμετέραν Εύγενή φιλίαν, λαβών τήν ἀφορμήν ἐκ τῆς ἐπισήμου ἀνακοινώσεως τῆς γενομένης μοι

his Convent in Aegina, dated 27 May 1907, and from 12 June 1907, he wrote:

.... The people of Chalkis are working together to make me bishop of their area. They are doing it verbally and in print through their local newspaper However, I do not know the outcome of their actions. I pray that God will reveal something to one of you. If it is His will, then His will be done!³¹⁴

ύπό τῶν Ἀξιοτίμων ἀπεσταλμένων τῆς Ὑμετέρας κοινότητος Κυρίων Α. Α. Μπέη καὶ Βελισσαρίου Ν. Καρακώστα περὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τῶν Δήμων τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Χαλκίδος πρός ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ διορισμοῦ μου εἰς τὴν Ἐπισκοπήν Χαλκίδος καὶ δι' ὑμῶν πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις Χαλκιδεῦσι ὅτι καὶ κατά τὴν πρώτην Ὑμετέραν πρός ἡμᾶς ἔκφρασιν τῶν διαθέσεων τῶν ὑμετέρων συμπολιτῶν εἴπον ὅτι δέχομαι εὐχαρίτωσας τὴν πρότασιν ἐάν οἱ Κύριοι Βουλευταί τῆς Ὑμετέρας Ἐπαρχίας συμμερίζωνται τάς διαθέσεις τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμπολιτῶν, ἐάν αὐτοὶ ἀναλάβωσι νά ἐνεργήσωσι πρός ίκανοποίησιν τῶν πόθων ὑμῶν, ἐάν ὁ Κύριος Καλογερόπουλος καὶ ὁ Κύριος Βουδούρης μοί ἀνακοινώσωσι τὴν Ὑμετέραν πρότασιν, καὶ ἐάν εἰς τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν κοινῶν πόθων ἔκφραση τὴν ἑαυτῆς συγκατάθεσιν καὶ ἡ Σ. Ἰερά Σύνοδος καὶ εὐάρεστηθῇ καὶ μέ καλέση καὶ μοί προτείνῃ καὶ ὡς θέλησιν ἑαυτῆς τὴν Ὑμετέραν αἴτησιν.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔθεωρησα ἀναγκαῖον καὶ διά τοῦδε τοῦ γράμματός μου νά δηλώσω πρός ὑμᾶς καὶ πρός πάντας τούς φίλους Χαλκιδεῖς τούς ἐπιποθούντας τόν διορισμόν μου εἰς τὴν Χαλκίδα ὥπως μή γίνωνται ἄσκοποι ἐνέργειαι.

Δέξασθε τὴν διαβεβαίωσιν τῆς ἄκρας πρός ὑμᾶς ὑπολήψεως μου μεθ' ἡς διατελῶ πρός Θεόν εὐχέτης.

'Αθῆναι 20' Ιουνίου 1907

δΠενταπόλεωςΝεκτάριος"

[Βιβλίον 'Αλληλογραφίας Δεύτερον Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς Μητροπολίτου ΠενταπόλεωςΝεκταρίου ἀπό 1904 μέχρι 1908, σελ. 524].

"ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ
ΡΙΖΑΡΕΙΟΥΣΧΟΛΗΣ
'Αριθ. 2916

Μητροπολίτην' Αθηνῶν Θεόκλητον

Θεωρῶ ἀναγκαῖον νά πέμψω συνημμένον ὥδε πρός τὴν ὑμετέραν Πανιερότητα ἀντίγραφον γράμματός μου πρός τὸν Ἀξιότιμον Κύριον Βασίλειον Γεωργιάδην Πρόεδρον τοῦ Ἐμπορικοῦ Συλλόγου Χαλκιδαίων δι' οὐ ἀναγγέλω αὐτῷ τούς ὄρους ὑφ' οὓς δέχομαι τάς προτάσεις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συμπολιτῶν καὶ παρακαλῶ νά ἀνακοινώσῃ αὐτοὺς ὥπως γνωρίσω τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ Πανιερότητι τά πράγματα ὡς ἔχουντιν.

Δέξασθε τὴν ἔκφρασιν τοῦ πολλοῦ μου σεβασμοῦ πρός τὴν ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα μεθ' οὐ διατελῶ ἐλάχιστος ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφός
'Αθῆναι 20' Ιουνίου 1907

δΠενταπόλεωςΝεκτάριος"

[Βιβλίον 'Αλληλογραφίας Δεύτερον Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς Μητροπολίτου ΠενταπόλεωςΝεκταρίου ἀπό 1904 μέχρι 1908, σελ. 524-525].

314 The Saint's letter to the Chalkians said:

"Οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς ἐνεργοῦσι δι' ἀναφορῶν καὶ δημοψηφισμάτων, τά ὅποια καὶ θά δημοσιεύσωι εἰς τὴν ἐν Χαλκίδι ἐφημερίδα, ὥπως μέ ἀποκτήσωσιν Ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἐπαρχίας αὐτῶν. Ἀγνοῶ ποία ἔσται ἡ ἐκβασίς τῶν ἐνεργειῶν αὐτῶν. Πιστεύω, ὅτι ὁ Θεός θ' ἀνακαλύψῃ εἰς καμμίαν ἐξ ὑμῶν τι, ἐάν εὐδοκήσῃ νά διορισθῶ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Χαλκίδι. Ἐάν είναι θέλημα Θεοῦ, γενηθήτω τό θέλημα Αὐτοῦ."

.... Thanks to the Grace of God, I am well. The students' final examinations are over, and I will come there in exactly one week, unless the situation of Chalkis keeps me longer. I tell you though, the holy synod does not want me as a bishop, so it appears that such is not the will of God.³¹⁵

Nectarios remained peaceful, without making any effort to gain the esteemed throne. In the end, Chrysanthos Provatas was elected Bishop of Chalkis.

4) The Pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain

During the summer holidays of Rizareios Seminary in 1898, the Metropolitan of Pentapolis expressed his desire to go to the Holy Mountain, the "garden of the Theotokos." This journey was to serve two purposes; on one hand the Holy Mountain, as the heart of Orthodox monasticism, always attracted the hierarch, who loved monasteries as a place of prayer. On the other hand, his study in the famous monastic libraries of Athos would offer him rich material for the continuation of his literary work. Nectarios arrived at Mount Athos with the blessings of the Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine V. In the introductory letter from the Ecumenical Patriarch, dated 30 May 1898, the following was written:

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικά' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984), Letter No. 105 of 27 May 1907, p. 205].

³¹⁵The second Catechetical letter said:

"Χάριτι Θείᾳ είμι καλά καὶ αἱ ἐξετάσεις ἔτελείωσαν. Ἐγώ θά ἔλθω ἀκριβῶς μετά μίαν ἑβδομάδα, ἐκτός ἐάν ἡ τῆς Χαλκίδος ὑπόθεσις μέ ἐμποδίσῃ δι' ὀλίγας ἀκόμη ἡμέρας, ἀλλά σᾶς ἀναγγέλω, ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι Συνοδικοί δέν θέλουντιν, ὥστε φαίνεται δέν είναι θέλημα Θεοῦ."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικά' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984), Letter No. 106 of 12 June 1907, p. 207].

Therefore I ask that you gladly receive His Eminence, for it is with pleasure that I am recommending him to you. I have no doubt that your Holy Community, the reverend abbots, superintendents, fathers and monks will greet him with all due respect and reverence which befits his title and high rank. Please offer him, both promptly and eagerly, every facility so as to enable him to comfortably fulfill his desire.³¹⁶

Then, in the recommendation letter of the Athos Community to the supervisors and representatives of the twenty holy monasteries of Mount Athos, dated 30 July 1898, the following was written:

His Eminence Metropolitan of Pentapolis is well known through his many theological and religious writings, as well as from his pure and fervent desire for the religious and ethical edification of the faithful. Towards this goal, he has worked successfully and hard, almost to the point of exhaustion, for many years now. The persons in charge of religious matters in Greece, having been mindful of his virtues, properly entrusted him to the position of principal in one of the best religious schools we have. We therefore strongly urge you to greet His Eminence on this first visit to our land with all due respect and reverence which befit his title and high rank. We also urge you to eagerly and promptly offer him every facility which will help fulfill his intended desire. At this time we would also like to declare to you that he has been given the authority to minister from His Most Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch.³¹⁷

³¹⁶In his letter Patriarch Constantine wrote:

"Οθεν ἀσμένως συνιστώντες τῇ ύμῶν ὁσιότητι τὴν αὐτοῦ Φίλην ἡμῖν Πανιερότητα, οὐδαμῶς ἀμφιβάλλομεν, ὅτι ἡ τε Ἱερά Κοινότης καὶ πάντες οἱ ὁσιώτατοι ἡγούμενοι, προϊστάμενοι καὶ πατέρες τῶν αὐτόθι εὐαγῶν Μονῶν, ὑποδέξονται αὐτήν μετά πάσης τῆς προσηκουύσης πιμῆς καὶ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ, ἀναλόγως τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς περιωπῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ προθυμηθήσονται παρασχεῖν πάσαν δυνατήν εὐκολίαν πρός ἄνετον ἐκπλήρωσιν οὐδὲμφορεῖται πόθου."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 71].

³¹⁷The recommendation letter of the Athos Community mentioned:

"Η Α. Πανιερότης, ὁ ἄγ. Πενταπόλεως, γνωστός ἐκ τε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων θεολογικῶν καὶ λοιπῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Αὐτοῦ συγγραφῶν, ιδίᾳ δέ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγνοῦ καὶ διακαοῦς Αὐτοῦ πόθου πρός τὴν θρησκευτικήν καὶ ἡθικήν

The Council of the Holy Mountain welcomed the learned hierarch Nectarios Kephalas with honors at the end of July 1898. We do not know if he visited all the monasteries of Athos. According to the Athonite oral tradition, the wanderings of the Bishop took in the monasteries of Dionysiou, the Great Lavra, Simonos Petra and Gregoriou, where in each he left a deep impression of his humility and love in Christ.³¹⁸

Passing through many sketes, Metropolitan Nectarios reached the skete of Lesser Saint Anne, where he spoke with the hermits and ascetics. One of them who had the gift of foresight, revealed the hierarch's episcopal order, although he was dressed as a simple monk. He received hospitality and maintained correspondence with Daniel Katounakiotis, Ioasaph of the skete of Saint Anne, and Avimelech Bonakis the cave dweller.³¹⁹ Nectarios' two-month period on the Holy Mountain ended towards the end of August 1898. The visit to Athos, apparently influenced his perception of monasticism considerably. There he became acquainted with the monastic Athonite ethos and embraced it with a receptive heart.

έποικοδόμησιν τῶν πιστῶν, ἀόκνως, ἀλλά καὶ λίαν εὐδοκίμως, ἀπό πολλῶν ἥδη ἐτῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἔργαζόμενος· πρός ἣν ἀποβλέψαντες καὶ οἱ τά ἐν Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμελούμενοι ἐκκλησιαστικά, πάνυ καταλλήλως ἀνέθηκαν Αὔτῳ τὴν Διεύθυνσιν μιᾶς τῶν ἀνωτέρων παρ' ἡμῖν Ἱερατικῶν Σχολῶν. "Ηδη δέ το πρώτον τὴν Α. Πανιερότητα ἐπισκεπτομένην τὸν ἴ. ήμων Τόπον, συνιστώμεν Θερμῶς πρός τὴν Ὑμετέραν Πανοσιολογιότητα, ὅπως ὑποδέξησθε Αὔτην, μετά πάσης τῆς προσηκούσης τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ, ἀναλόγως τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς περιωπῆς Αὔτης, παρέχοντες προθύμως, πάσαν τὴν δυνατήν εὐκολίαν πρός ἀνετον ἐκπλήρωσιν οὐδὲ μηφορεῖται πόθου, δηλούντες ἄμα ύμιν τὸ ἐκ τῆς Α. Θ. Παναγιότητος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου, ἀκώλυτον πρός ἐπιτέλεσιν τυχόνιεροπραξιῶν."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 72.]

³¹⁸J. Konstantinidis, "Μητρόπολις Χαλκίδος," Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἡθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία 12 (1968) 60.

³¹⁹P. G., "Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος καὶ τό"Αγιον"Ορος," 'Ο"Οσιος Γρηγόριος (Thessaloniki) 3 (1978) 54-55. Cf. also, Monk S., M., "Αγιος Νεκτάριος καὶ 'Αγιορείτες," 'Ο"Οσιος Γρηγόριος (Thessaloniki) (1982) 38-39.

5) Candidate Patriarch of Alexandria

Following the death of Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in August 1899, the Greek communities in Egypt invited Nectarios to submit his candidature for the vacant Patriarchal Throne.³²⁰ The Greek and foreign newspapers, in Athens and Egypt, supported the candidacy of Nectarios, sketching-out the Episcopal personality of the hierarch, and referring to his writing and preaching activity. Articles were published showing the love of God's people for their former spiritual father and pastor.³²¹

The conversations regarding the possibility of his ascending the Patriarchal Throne were even going on in Rizareios School. Nectarios decided to take the journey to Egypt once again, ten years after his dismissal. Although he was prepared to serve the Church in a patriarchal capacity, he did not actively seek the position. Nectarios went to Egypt from 18 to 23 September, 1899,³²² to participate in the election of the new Patriarch. He had hardly reached Alexandria before he was faced with on the one hand the enthusiasm of the Greek Community of Alexandria, and on the other, the coolness of the Ecclesiastical Authorities who reacted in favor of Metropolitan Photios (Peroglou) of Nazareth, a member of the

³²⁰Archim. Cherubim, *Σύγχρονες Ἀγιορείτικες μορφές – Δανιήλ ὁ Κατουνακιώτης* (Athens, 1979) 83. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 186-189, 191-192, 204-213; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο'Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 76-77, 80; P. G., "Ο"Άγιος Νεκτάριος καὶ τό"Άγιον"Ορος," 'Ο"Οσιος Γρηγόριος (Thessaloniki) 3 (1978) 54-55. Cf. also, Monk S., M., "Άγιος Νεκτάριος καὶ Ἀγιορείτες," 'Ο"Οσιος Γρηγόριος (Thessaloniki) (1982) 57-60.

³²¹Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Όσιοις ἀειμνήστοις Πατρός ἡμῶν καὶ Ποιμενάρχον Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 12-13; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 87; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο'Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 87.

³²²ΟΜητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως, "Ανάπλασις (Athens) 12 (September 9, 1899) 2.

Holy Sepulchre Brotherhood who enjoyed the support of Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem and of the sister of the Tsar, Queen Olga of Greece.³²³ Nectarios also went again to Egypt on November 25, 1899.³²⁴ Nectarios seeing all these "behind the scene" activities, supported the candidature of the then former Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd, and returned to Athens, before Photios had been elected Patriarch of Alexandria.

A long time after the final elections that distinguished Photios as the Patriarch, Nectarios had come to understand that his return to Egypt was not the will of God. He visited Egypt, after ten years, at the invitation of Greeks there who believed that his presence would help to solve the problems following Sophronios's death. The Saint had loved Egypt, and was feeling love for the Greeks of the Parikoia. His whole attitude, and the two trips of 1899, showed that he wished to return to Egypt and serve there as a legal Bishop. He did not try earlier because he did not wish to defy Sophronios. The death of the much aging Patriarch, as well as the invitations of the Greeks of Egypt were seen as a call for his return. Nectarios came and left as a peacemaker. He did not want to cause discord but unity. But on his arrival there, he recognized among his colleges the same ill will of the past. He wished another attitude from the Patriarchate. Perhaps he believed that the hatred of the past had been forgotten during the ten years of his absence. I believe that the two trips of the Saint to Egypt in 1899 were a new trial for him. He repeated his behavior of the past. He left silently and humbly, being certain that he contributed to the conciliation of

³²³Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *O Άγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 96.

³²⁴Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984), Letter No. 130 of 15 February 1908, p. 250.

the local Church, the concord and harmony among people. From the information available we can say that the Saint did not visit Egypt again, but he continued a friendly correspondence with the Greeks there and with some clergymen of the Patriarchate.

6) Founder of a Convent in Aegina

Metropolitan Nectarios was a gifted confessor. A large number of men from every class and order used to go to Rizareios, to gain the advice of the Bishop. Among them was a group of young girls who had resolved to follow the monastic life. They all wanted the Saint as their spiritual father and director of their sisterhood. The desire of these women identified with the will of the Bishop, who from that time asked God to suggest a place close to Athens for him to create a monastery.³²⁵

Nectarios urged his friend Archimandrite Papaconstantinou to visit the island of Aegina on 10 September 1904, with three attendant monks. They went to the "Palaia Chora," and stayed in "Xantos," where they found some ruins of a little ^{monastery} dedicated to the Zoodochos Pege and two old cells. This place seemed an ideal location for establishing their sisterhood. The visit to Aegina satisfied the Metropolitan and his attendants, with the consequence that he sent his first spiritually aspiring girls there. Ten novice nuns constituted the nucleus of the newly established sisterhood of the Holy Trinity Convent, the name of which was changed by the establishment of the Bishop, during the years 1904-1908, until his

³²⁵Archim. Th. Papakonstantinou, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀδίοις ἀειμνήστου Πατρός ἡμῶν καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1937) 14.

resignation from Rizareios. The first abbess of the Convent was Chrysanthi Strongylou, the blind, renamed Sister Xeni.³²⁶

Nectarios wrote a letter to the Monastery of Nea Moni in Chios, requesting that they send him a letter of release, striking him from the roster of monks, so that he would be free to choose where to go. Nectarios received his release letter around the 24th of November, 1900.³²⁷ He was now able to accept a directorship in the Convent of Aegina.

Nectarios habitually visited the Convent during the students' holiday from Rizareios and for other special reasons. He went to Aegina to guide and direct the novices in the details of the monastic life. He also celebrated the liturgy and preached the divine word to the inhabitants of the island who came to his Monastery to receive his fatherly counsel and his prayers.³²⁸

4. Nectarios' Resignation

In the document of February 7, 1908 Nectarios offered his final resignation to the Committee of Rizareios for reasons of health. It read as follows:

To the Honorable Trustees of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Rizareios

I take the honor of informing the honorable committee of the seminary that, because of a tired body and frequent illness, I feel that I am no longer able to carry out the important duties of dean of the seminary. Because of this, it is with great sorrow that I am taking

³²⁶K. Stamatis, *Oι "Αγιοι τῆς Αἴγινας* (Athens, 1990) 54; Karabetsou, A., *Τρεῖς ἀγίες τοῦ αἰώνα μας* (Piraeus, 1986) 28; Melinos, M., *μύλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν* (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 57, 156, 189, 201-204, 206, 248, 255-256, (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 63-64, 156.

³²⁷Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)* (Athens, 1985) 69.

³²⁸Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 102.

the liberty to declare to you that I am hereby resigning from the position of dean. I wholeheartedly wish that the Lord will bless you in your good works, and your work for the seminary, which I have loved from the bottom of my heart. The Lord takes care of and will promote the seminary's high purposes and goals, the very goals for which it was created by its founders. They are always in our loving memory, and may they be remembered always. Please be assured of my highest regards towards you, and accept my love towards you, with which I remain, praying for the Lord's blessing on you always.

The Dean
Nectarios of Pentapolis³²⁹

His fellow teachers felt that his departure would be a great loss for the school. The directors realized that for the past fourteen years, it was his selflessness and endurance that brought the Seminary to its respectable standing and position. However, since he could no longer endure the position, the directors decided to offer him a lifetime pension. One month before the final acceptance of resignation, the following notation was made by the Committee on the Seminary records:

³²⁹Saint Nectarios' resignation states the following :

Αθήναι τῇ 7.2.1908

Πρός

Τό Σεβ. Συμβούλιον τῆς Εκκλησίας Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς.

Λαμβάνω τὴν τιμήν, νά γνωρίσω πρός τό Σεβαστόν Συμβούλιον τῆς Σχολῆς, δτι διαπονηθείς τό σῶμα καὶ ύποκύπτων συνεχῶς εἰς ἀσθενείας, αἰσθάνομαι ἐμαυτόν ἀνίσχυρον, νά φέρω τά τῆς Διευθύνσεως τῆς Σχολῆς σπουδαῖα καθήκοντα, διό καὶ προάγομαι μετά πολλῆς λύπης, νά δηλώσω ύμιν, δτι παραποτύμαι τῆς Διευθύνσεως τῆς Σχολῆς καὶ εὔχομαι ἀπό καρδίας, ὅπως ὁ Θεός ύμᾶς μέν εὐλογή, ἐργαζομένους ύπερ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τήν δέ Σχολήν, τήν δποίαν ἡγάπησα ἀπό μέσης καρδίας, σκέπη καὶ προάγη πρός ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ ύψηλοῦ αὐτῆς σκοποῦ, δι' ὃν ίδρυθη ύπό τῶν ἀοιδίμων αὐτῆς ίδρυτῶν, ὧν αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη.

Δέξασθε τήν διαβεβαίωσιν τῆς ἄκρας πρός 'Υμᾶς ύπολήψεως καὶ ἡγάπης, μεθ ἡς διατελῶ διάπυρος πρός Θεόν εύχέτης.

'Οδιευθυντής

'ΟΠενταπόλεωςΝεκτάριος"

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιοςΝεκτάριοςΚεφαλᾶςΜητροπολίτηςΠενταπόλεως(1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 59-60].

Before deciding whether to accept this resignation, Mr. Athenogenes is instructed to express the Committee's deep sorrow for this event. The Committee, in acknowledgment of His Eminence Nectarios' service to the School, will offer him in due course, the aid of three hundred drachmas monthly and will also request him to stay on as dean until they officially accept his resignation.³³⁰

After Nectarios' retirement from the Seminary which took place after the Pascha of 1908, the Governing Committee, the professors and the students of Rizareios were gathered in the corridor of the Seminary from which his temporary successor, Dean Nicholas Papayannopoulos appropriately called to him offering him a commemorative gift, a large amber chaplet. With his characteristic smile he bade farewell to those who were present, while at the same time looking forward to seeing the Convent of Aegina. The Saint was no more the dean of Rizareios, but the Seminary continued to be influenced by his spirit. The Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs accepted the resignation by his document number 4613, dated 24 March 1908, and made a special laudatory notation expressing royal satisfaction.³³¹

³³⁰The document of Rizareios' Committee has as follows :

"Ανεγνώσθη τό 7 Φεβρουαρίου ἐ. ἔ. ἔγγραφον τοῦ Σ. Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Σχολῆς Μητροπολίτου πρώην Πενταπόλεως κ. Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ, δὶ οὐ δηλοῖ, ὅτι ἔνεκα λόγων ὑγείας παραιτεῖται τῆς θέσεως αὐτοῦ ταύτης. Τό πολυμελές Συμβούλιον πρίν ἀποφασίσῃ περὶ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς τῆς παραιτήσεως ταύτης, ἀνέθετο τῷ κ. Αθηνογένη, νά ἐκφράσῃ τὴν ἄκρην λύπην αὐτοῦ διά τὸ γεγονός τούτο, συγχρόνως δέ ὅτι τό Συμβούλιον ἀναγνωρίζον τάς παρασχεθείσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπηρεσίας τῆ Σχολῆ, θέλει παράσχει ἐν καιρῷ περίθαλψιν ἐκ δρχ. 300 μηνιαίως, πρός τούτοις δέ τόν παρακαλέσῃ, ἵνα ἔξακολουθήσῃ διευθύνων, μέχρις οὐ τό Συμβούλιον δυνηθῆ, νά δηλώσῃ τὴν δριστικήν ἀποδοχήν τῆς παραιτήσεως."

[The meeting of February 11, 1908, *Πρακτικά τοῦ Πολυμελοῦς Συμβουλίου τῆς Εκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς τοῦ ἔτους 1908*, p. 107. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 60-61].

³³¹Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 245, 277-278, 307.

5. The Writings of this Period

1) On the Divine Character

The first brief study, which was published in Athens, 1895, by Nectarios, as Dean of Rizareios, was the *Sermons on the Divine Character and the Work of our Savior Jesus Christ and Endless Life in Him*. This study was comprised of two sermons: the first was an investigation of eternity as shown in and found in the knowledge of the true God. The second sermon gives the reason for the beneficial influence which the knowledge of the true God exercises in man through Christ the Savior. Finally, the author summarizes in twenty-nine parts the marks of Christ.³³²

2) The Treasury of Sacred Sayings

The next work which Metropolitan Nectarios granted was the two-volume study *The Treasury of Sacred and Philosophical Sayings* which was published in Athens in the years 1895-1896. This work of 942 pages was produced after many years of toilsome study and consists of sayings from Holy Scriptures, from the Greek Fathers of the Church and from the ancient Greek philosophers. This study resulted in an index of opinions and sayings of the above authors which have been included in the text.³³³ "From this anthology of his various studies, it seemed to be a lavapaedium work and showed the

³³² Metr. N. Kephalas, 'Ομιλίαι περί τοῦ θείου χαρακτήρος καί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καί ὅπι ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή' (Athens: A. Καλαράκη – N. Τριανταφύλλου, 1895) 3-16.

³³³ Metr. N. Kephalas, 'Ιερῶν καί Φιλοσοφικῶν Λογίων Θησαύρισμα' (Vol. 1) (Athens: A. Καλλαράκη – N. Τριανταφύλλου, 1895) c. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)' (Athens, 1985) 237.

strong inclination which he had towards God, and his thirst for the perfection of life in Christ."³³⁴

3) Epic and Elegiac Opinions

In 1896, Nectarios published his new book entitled *Epic and Elegiac Opinions of the Lesser Greek Poets; Maxims of Theognis of Megara, Pythagoras' Golden Verses, Phokylidis' Poem of Admonition, and maxims of others.* Under the title is the statement: "For the use of the schools." The compiler's name does not appear on the title page, and there is no preface to indicate the purpose which the book was intended to serve.. But from examination of its contents, one may safely conclude that its primary aim was moral edification. As a book for classroom use, it could also be used as a text for instruction in the ancient Greek language.³³⁵

4) Christian Ethics

The *Manual of Christian Ethics* was published by Metropolitan Nectarios in 1897, in Athens. He personally used this book with the pupils of the Seminary. In *Christian Ethics*, the author sets out the duties of every Christian, which emanate from the ethical law of the Savior Christ. His desire was for Christians to embrace the love of the Lord and to live in a daily relationship amongst themselves. For the writing of this work Nectarios consulted the manuals of Martensen and Tornes, and also Zekos Roses' moral stories. This work was endowed to be re-issued in revised form, as we read in the prologue of the second edition, which is signed and

³³⁴Protopresb. S. Sarantos, "'Η πλούσια προσφορά τοῦ Ἅγιου Νεκταρίου στήν Ἑκκλησία καὶ στήν Πολιτεία," *Κοινωνία* (Athens) 32 (April/June, 1989) 173.

³³⁵C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 39-40.

dated by the author "In Aegina, 17 January 1920," an aim which was achieved not at the time, but much later through another publication.³³⁶

5) Pastoral Study

Through his work *Pastoral Study*, which he published in 1898 in Athens, Nectarios developed the model of a spiritual shepherd, which was embodied in himself. The work was included among the teaching textbooks which the Dean wrote for the use of the pupils of the Seminary. The peculiar merit of *Pastoral Study* lies in the fact that it was a condensation of the author's knowledge and twenty years of clerical practice. The *Pastoral Study* is dedicated "to the blessed memory of the brothers Manthos and George Rizaris, the ever-memorable founders of Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary." Except for the introduction and the bibliography, it was divided between general and particular emphasis. The analysis of themes which are related to the pastoral ministry are presented in the form of questions and answers for easier understanding of the text.³³⁷ In this work, he discusses the qualifications of prospective priests and bishops and their duties. But it also contains much that is of broader interest, such as discussions on the nature and purpose of the Church, its relation to the State, the seven Sacraments, the place of reason and logic in theology, the value of encyclopedic and philosophic knowledge for the bishop. Nectarios sets high moral,

³³⁶ Metr. Matthaiakis, T., *Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως Θεολογικαὶ Μελέται* (Athens, 1990) 81. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *ΟἍγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)* (Athens, 1985) 238.

³³⁷ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μάθημα Ποιμαντικῆς* (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1972) 3, 23. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *ΟἍγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 24.

intellectual, and spiritual standards for clergymen, especially bishops, devoting more than a third of the book to their ministry.

6) Orthodox Sacred Catechism

"Undertaking the teaching of the lesson of Sacred Catechism and being obliged to teach it extensively according to the new organization of the Seminary, forces me to write Catechism," Nectarios remarked in the preface of the *Orthodox Sacred Catechism* which was issued in 1899 in Athens.³³⁸ After the "Preface" and the long "Introduction," the *Catechism* is divided into three parts; a) the Dogmatic, in which the dogmatic truths of the Holy Scriptures are developed, b) the Ethical, in which he referred to the ethical truth of the Holy Scriptures, and c) the Sacred Rites which dealt with the sacraments of the Church, received through Sacred Tradition, and which preserve the teachings of the Apostles and divine commandments.³³⁹

7) Christology

The next work that Nectarios published in 1901 in Athens was *Christology, that is on the Divine Character and the Work of our Savior Jesus Christ, and on the Fulfillment of the Prophecies in His Divine Person*. The work is divided into three parts. The first developed the dogmatic teaching of the Church about the advent of the Savior Christ and His redemptive work perpetuated through the Church. The second part described the apocalypse of God in this world, and the third part described the complete fulfillment of the

³³⁸ Ιερά Κατήχησις τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἑκκλησίας (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1984) 13.

³³⁹ The present study was republished in Thessaloniki in 1980 and in 1984.

Old Testament prophesies regarding the Christ Messiah. The second and the third part of the work consists of a transcript of the third, fourth and fifth chapters of his writing *On the Revelation of God in the World.*³⁴⁰

8) On the Immortality of the Soul

The *Study on the Immortality of the Soul and on the Sacred Memorial Services* was published by Saint Nectarios in 1901 in Athens. The whole work is divided into two parts. The first part consisted of a description of the totality of the Christian and Philosophical view aspect of the soul. The theories of the ancient Greek philosophers and Fathers of the Church about the origin, the nature and the cause of the soul were contained in the first part. The second part dealt with the Sacred Memorial Services and the benefits which they confer. Finally, it cited the teaching of the Church about the transitory state of souls after death, the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment.³⁴¹

9) Evangelical History

One new massive writing of Nectarios was issued in 1903 in Athens, and entitled *Evangelical History, through the harmony of the texts of the Sacred Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.* In order to write the *Evangelical History*, the author used as his reference books the "Synopsis Evangelica" of Constantine de Tischendorf, the "Symphony of the Four Gospels" of the Archbishop

³⁴⁰Metr. N. Kephalas, *Χριστολογία* (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1901) 4.

³⁴¹The *Μελέτη περί τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ περί ιερῶν μνημοσύνων* was republished, in Athens in 1972 and 1981 and in Thessaloniki in 1973. The second part of the work which is entitled "Study concerning the Sacred Memorial Services" (*Μελέτη περί τῶν Ιερῶν Μνημοσύνων*) republished and self contained in 1981 in Athens in an exact translation from archaic Greek to Modern Greek by Demetra Kakkisis - Georngatzis.

Neokomos and the text of the Gospels of the Church. The whole work was divided into seven periods, according to the seven fixed chronicle signs from the Evangelists, which fixed the years of the life of Christ. The work was also divided into 157 paragraphs, as this is also the number of the parallel and peculiar historical events which the Evangelists relate.³⁴²

10) Knowing Yourself

"Knowledge of yourself' is the first necessity of man," according to Metropolitan Nectarios. If man wishes to have a perfect knowledge of himself, he must render himself a subject of his study. As the learned Bishop perceived the effort that the attainment of this aim demands, he published in 1904, in Athens, his moral and religious study, *Knowing Yourself; that is Moral and Religious Studies Representing the Religious and Ethical Character of Man and the Image of the Soul as Reflected Images.*³⁴³ It is a study concerned with the virtues and the vices opposed to them. The virtues dealt with are: faith, hope, love, justice, truthfulness, the virtues of the cognitive part of the soul, those of the spirited part (the will and the emotional power), and those of the appetitive part. At the end of the study, Nectarios added as an appendix, "Epistolary dissertation to the Eusebia Nun," in which the type of perfect virgin was described and the dangers in following the monastic life were related.³⁴⁴

³⁴²Metr. N. Kephalas, *Εὐαγγελική Ἰστορία δι' ἀρμονίας τῶν κειμένων τῶν Εὐαγγελιστῶν Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ καὶ Ιωάννου* (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1903) iv-x.

³⁴³Metr. N. Kephalas, *Τό γνώθι Σαύτόν ἡτοι μελέται θρησκευτικά καὶ ηθικά εἰκονίζουσαι τόν θρησκευτικόν καὶ ηθικόν χαρακτήρα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ δαλματίζουσαι* (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1973) 5, 7.

³⁴⁴ibid., 242-258.

11) On the Sacrament of the Divine Eucharist

The *Study on the Sacrament of the Divine Eucharist* was issued by Metropolitan Nectarios in 1904 in Athens. In it the author deplores those who do not receive Holy Communion regularly because of sheer indifference to the benefits that are derived from the Sacrament, not because they are hindered by some sin. He remarks that whether we receive Holy Communion unworthy, or we avoid it, we have no life. The whole study is adorned with the relevant decisions of Ecumenical Synods and with references to the works of the Fathers of the Church.³⁴⁵

12) Contritional Prayer book

In 1904, Nectarios issued his work, *Contritional Prayer book* which contained prayers and troparia for all the days of the week, taken from the "Great Horologion," and from the liturgical books of the Eastern Orthodox Church. In 1913, he republished the same book, expanded through the addition of the services of the first hour and the Canon of the Akathist Hymn. Through this double edition the Metropolitan sought to incite the faithful to pray with a continuous doxology to the Trinitarian God and the Theotokos.³⁴⁶

13) On the Mother of the Lord

Because of the deep devotion of Metropolitan Nectarios towards the "Lady Theotokos," and because he wished to refute

³⁴⁵Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μελέτη περί τοῦ Μυστηρίου τῆς Θείας Εὐχαριστίας* (Athens, 1904) 23-24, 33. Cf. also, C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 53-54.

³⁴⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'ΟΆγος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 279; C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 49.

some errors reported about the Theotokos, he published the volume *Studies on the Mother of the Lord, the Most Holy Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary* in 1904. This study was consisted of three chapters. In the first, the author presents the Orthodox view, that "the Most Holy Theotokos was a virgin before giving birth, and remained a virgin after the birth keeping her virginity intact." In the second chapter he referred to the honors that the faithful gave and give to the Mother of God, beginning with the years of her earthly life. The third chapter referred to the Synodical institution of the term, "Theotokos" from the third Ecumenical Synod, a term which the subsequent Synod adopted.³⁴⁷ He also discusses the various appellations that have been used in speaking of Her, and closes with an encomium to the Theotokos and a note on the hymn to Her that begins with the words "Αξιον ἔστιν ("Truly it is Meet.")

14) On the Saints of God

The *Study on the Saints of God* was issued by Metropolitan Nectarios in 1904, in Athens. This short study is made up of two chapters. The first was a sermon about the beginning of the glory which the Supreme Judge bestowed on the righteous after death, that is, the triumphant Church. This glory was manifested by the devout, whom the Church honors as saints and friends of God. It invokes their names in prayer as mediators of God, and honors their relics and icons. In the second chapter, the author gives a sermon about the intercessions of the saints as a catholic dogma of the Church. It also states the Orthodox view that those who die as members of the Church of Christ, are not separated from the Church,

³⁴⁷ Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μελέτη περί τῆς μητρός τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ Αειπαρθένου Μαρίας* (Thessaloniki: Νέα Στοιχειοθετική, 1985) 3-18.

but as the Body of Christ, are ceaselessly united with the Church, glorify God together with Her, and intercede on behalf of the Militant Church.³⁴⁸

15) Theotokarion

Nectarios, out of his theological treatises, also composed hymns to the Theotokos which he included in his book, entitled *Theotokarion*. The Bishop issued his poetic work in 1905 in Athens, as an expression of his gratitude to the Ever-Virgin Mary for her many kindnesses to him. The complement of contritonal, grateful, supplicatory and glorifying verses, which were composed in different meters of ancient Greek poetry, with deep dogmatic and spiritual content, reveal his inner depth and piety.³⁴⁹

16) On Ordered Fasting

The *Historic Study on Ordered Fasting* was written by Nectarios in 1905 and was published after his death. The present study "has an apologetical character, and was written in order to teach those who question the validity and the spiritual benefit that comes from it."³⁵⁰ The work is divided into two parts. In the first, the author makes an historical survey of the institution of fasting, from the teaching of Jesus Christ on the keeping of fasts by the Apostles and the Church, the witness of the Fathers of the Church

³⁴⁸Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μελέτη περί τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Athens, 1904) 3-12.

³⁴⁹The first edition of *Θεοτοκάριον* of 1905 includes 103 odes, thirty hymns and eleven canons. The second edition of 1907, again from Saint Nectarios, has five new odes, fifty-three hymns and nine canons. The following editions of 1967, 1972, 1982, and 1990 is exact reprint of the edition of 1907.

³⁵⁰Metr. N. Kephalas, *Ιστορική μελέτη περί τῶν διατεταγμένων νηστειῶν* Care of Archim. T. Matthaiakis in *Θεολογία* (Athens) 27 (1956) 463; Reprinted by Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως Θεολογικά Μελέται* (Athens, 1990) 35-56.

and the historical and ecclesiastical writers on this theme, including his contemporary professors; N. Damalas and G. Dervos. In the second section, the author presents the historical source and practice of the fasts; the Nativity of Christ, Holy Pascha, the Transfiguration, the Holy Apostles, and the Dormition of the Theotokos. According to Nectarios, the fast chiefly consists of preparation in prayer, and contributes to health and longevity.³⁵¹

17) Digest of Holy Scriptures

Shortly before the publication of *Knowing Yourself* (1904), Nectarios considered writing another ethical-religious work in which he would compile all the relative sayings of the Old and New Testament. While the hierarch was preparing to put down his thoughts, the book *Digest of the Holy Scriptures of Monk Antioch of the Lavra of Saint Sabbas, of the seventh century*, came to his notice, the contents of which perfectly corresponded to his own spiritual quest during that period. For this reason, instead of composing a new study, he preferred to republish the Digest of Monk Antioch from the Patrology of Migne, in 1906. It was composed of one hundred and thirty chapters, each one dealing with an ethical supposition. The whole work, therefore, consists of a system of ethical theology adorned with the thoughts of the Holy Scriptures and the ancient teachers of the Church.³⁵²

³⁵¹ibid.

³⁵²Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μοναχοῦ Ἀνπόχου τοῦ ἐκ Γαλατίας Πανδέκτης τῶν Θεοπνεύστων Αγίων Γραφῶν καὶ περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ ἔξομολογήσεως* (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξος Κυψέλη, 1991) 9.

18) Hieratical Manual

The *Heretical Manual* published by Metropolitan Nectarios in 1907, in Athens, is divided into three chapters. The first has as its subject the Sacred Diaconate which began from Jesus Christ the Great High Priest. The second chapter examines the primacy of the Apostle Peter according to hagiographic texts, and the patristic interpretations and errors related to this are refuted. The third chapter refers to the theme of equality among the bishops.³⁵³

19) David's Psalter

The *Psalter of the King-Prophet David incorporated in meters according to the tonic base with interpretive notes* was published in 1908 in Athens and expresses the worshipping life of Saint Nectarios. In the introduction of his work, he presents the personality and the work of David, and goes on to speak about the Psalms, their authorship, the time of their writing, their contents and their interpreters. Finally, he refers to his own work, and he interprets the text with brief footnotes, in order that it may be understood.³⁵⁴ Nectarios used the text of the Alexandrian Codex, the interpretations of the Fathers of the Church, and of historians, the original Hebrew texts, and also translations from the Greek, French, Italian and Latin.³⁵⁵

³⁵³Metr. N. Kephalas, 'Ιεραπικόν ἔγκολπιον ἦτοι Α' Περί Ἱερωσύνης, Β' Περί τοῦ πρωτείου ἐν τῇ Ἱεραρχίᾳ, Γ' Περί τῆς ἰσότητος ἐν τῇ Ἱεραρχίᾳ (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1907) 9, 59, 81. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984), Letter No. 100 of 26 March 1907, p. 198.

³⁵⁴Metr. N. Kephalas, Ψαλτήριον τοῦ Προφητάνακτος Δαυΐδ ἐντεταγμένον εἰς μέτρα κατά τὴν τονικήν βάσιν μετά ἐρμηνευτικῶν σημειώσεων (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1908) 12.

³⁵⁵ibid., pp. 3-14. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984), Letter No. 54 of 10th. March 1906, p. 131.

20) On the Sacred Icons

The *Study on the Sacred Icons*, is a series of articles which Metropolitan Nectarios published in 1902, in the periodical "Anamorphosis" of Athens, and which were undertaken to refute some theories of theologians of that period. These writers who accepted the existence of Sacred Icons in the Christian Churches and their veneration refused to accept the archaeological revelations of the nineteenth century which proved that the icons were used in the first three centuries of persecution and Christian martyrdom after the resurrection of Christ. The writer developed the dogmatic teaching of the Church about icons, showing the relationship between the teachings of the Fathers of the Church and the views of contemporary history. In continuation, he examined the subject of the veneration of icons, and the traditions which are related to the icons not made with hands of the Savior Christ and the Theotokos generally, and particularly the icons of the Theotokos, which had been drawn by the Evangelist Luke.³⁵⁶

21) Catechetical Letters

As we have seen, Nectarios, during his administration of Rizareios, founded the Convent of Holy Trinity in 1904, in Aegina. On account of his duties in the Seminary, he stayed away from the Convent, and led the nuns through pastoral letters. He sent one hundred and thirty-six letters from Athens during 1904-1908,

³⁵⁶The present study was republished in 1972 in Thessaloniki with the general title, "Saint Nectarios, I: The Ecumenical Synods of Christ's Church, II: Study concerning the sacred ikons," (A. Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας , B. Μελέτη περὶ τῶν ἀγίων εἰκόνων) pp. 219-291.

referred to by his biographers as *Catechetical Letters*, which aimed at the teaching and the formation of the Sisterhood in the subject of monastic discipline. The Bishop' s aim was to better equip the female personality for devoutness and life in Christ.³⁵⁷

22) Correspondence

Saint Nectarios wished to maintain good relations with those who caused his expulsion from Egypt, therefore he maintained correspondence with Patriarchs Sophronios, Photios, and Joachim, and other hierarchs. He sent them his writings and offered hospitality to them, showing them in action Christian love and forgiveness, and he expressed feelings of gratitude to his benefactors. His desire to be recognized in his life time as a canonical Bishop of the Eastern Orthodox Church was never fulfilled. This only occurred after his death, as we will see in the following letters.

Nectarios learned, much to his astonishment, that his appointment at the Rizareios Seminary had not been approved because of the misinformation about his moral character, and that he had been expelled from Egypt because of moral reasons. Nectarios again felt the torment which was altogether too familiar. He appealed to the secretary of the Ministry for information as to what was being said concerning him. He was given a copy of the "information" about him which came from the Political Representative (or what would be called an ambassador today), to

³⁵⁷ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς' Ιεράς Μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 13, 14, 16, 17, 260. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος ό Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 105-107, 217-219, 313; Protopresb. S. Sarantos, "Η πλούσια προσφορά του 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου στήν 'Εκκλησία και στήν Πολιτεία," *Κοινωνία* (Athens) 32 (April/June, 1989) 179-180.

Egypt. It was a confidential letter from the Representative, John Gryparis, addressed to Minister Demetrios Kaliphronas, dated the 28th of January, 1894. It reads as follows:

Mr. Minister,

At the request of the Honorable Foreign Minister, I have the honor to send you information regarding His Eminence, the former Bishop Mg. Nectarios Kephalas and the reason that provoked his departure from Egypt.

The aforementioned bishop was a Monk at the Monastery of Chios when he became known to Mr. John Choremes, who then took him under his patronage and warmly recommended him to His Holiness, the Patriarch of Alexandria. Together, the two men paid for Mr. Kephalas' religious studies in Athens, where he received a degree equivalent to the Master of Arts of Theological studies from the Theological School of the National University. Following his studies, he returned here, where the Patriarch ordained him Archimandrite and made him a preacher and secretary of the Patriarchate. During these ministries, he showed himself to be truly zealous in carrying out his duties, and lived a truly ascetic life. After a while, he was sent to Cairo by the Patriarch to be under the Metropolitan of Libya and Patriarchal Commissioner. Following a disagreement between the Patriarch and Metropolitan of Libya however, the Commissioner departed to Smyrna, and the position of the Patriarchal Commissioner was then taken over by the Archimandrite Nectarios. He kept the position even after his ordination as Metropolitan of Pentapolis. In the beginning, the Patriarch was quite pleased with the Metropolitan of Pentapolis, for he showed himself to be enterprising and efficacious. Later on however, he started to displease the Patriarch by showing a desire to act without restraint and independently. The Patriarch thought that this independent action was insubordination and should be punished, and that is why His Holiness thought it best that the Metropolitan should be moved from Egypt. Patriarchal sources cite that the removal of the Metropolitan of Pentapolis from Egypt was also provoked further because of moral reasons. My duty, however, obligates me to also inform you that, according to other sources who are equally trustworthy, the Metropolitan was a victim of a conspiracy and slander.

Finally, I have the honor to report to you that the Metropolitan of Pentapolis was considered to be a perfect cleric, who was both energetic and effective, even by those within the Patriarchate.

Respectfully,
J. Gryparis³⁵⁸

Nectarios never believed that the destructive, irresponsible gossip and malicious hatred towards him would find its way to the official service of the Ministry. He never thought that it would feed the idle and inquisitive gossipers to such an extent, and actually

³⁵⁸The letter of John Gryparis is the following:

"Πολιτικόν Πρακτορείον τῆς Ελλάδος
ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

'Ἐν' Αλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ 28 Ιανουαρίου 1894

Αριθμ. Εμπ. Πρωτ. 3 και 8

Κύριε Υπουργέ !

Τῇ ἐντολῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ Εξοχότηος τοῦ κ. ἐπὶ τῶν Εξωτερικῶν Υπουργοῦ λαμβάνω τὴν πιμήν νά χορηγήσω τῇ Υμετέρᾳ Εξοχότηι πληροφορίας περὶ τῆς Αύτοῦ Σεβασμιότηος τοῦ ἄλλοτε Επισκόπου Πενταπόλεως κ. Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτοῦ.

Τόν ἐν λόγῳ Επίσκοπον μονάζοντα ἐν μονῇ τινι τῆς Χίου ἐγνώρισε δ. κ. Ιωάν. Χωρέμης, λαμβάνων δέ αὐτὸν ὑπό τὴν προστασίαν του, συνέστησε θερμῶς τῇ Αύτοῦ Πανιερότητι τῷ Πατριάρχῃ Αλεξανδρείας, δαπάναις δέ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπεστάλη πρός σπουδάς θεολογικάς ἐν Αθήναις, λαβών μετά τὴν κεκανονισμένην φοίτησιν ἐν τῇ Θεολογικῇ Σχολῇ τοῦ Εθν. Πανεπ. δίπλωμα προλύτου, ἐπανήλθεν ἐνταῦθα, ὅπου ὁ Πατριάρχης ἔχειροτόνησεν αὐτὸν Ἀρχιμανδρίτην καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἱεροκήρυκα καὶ γραμματέα τοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Ἐν τοῖς λειτουργήμασι τούτοις ἐπεδείξατο πολύν ἀληθῶς πρός τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ζῆλον, ἔζη δέ βίον ἀληθοῦν ἀσκητοῦ. Μετά τινα χρόνον ἀπεστάλη ὁ Νεκτάριος ὑπό τοῦ Πατριάρχου εἰς Καΐρον ὑπό τὸν ἄγιον Λιβύης Πατριαρχικόν Επίτροπον, κατόπιν δέ ἐπελθούσης δυσαρεσκείας μεταξύ τοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ τοῦ ἄγιου Λιβύης, ἀπῆλθεν οὕτος εἰς Σμύρνην, τὴν δέ θέσιν αὐτοῦ ὡς Πατριαρχικοῦ Επίτροπου κατέλαβεν ὁ Αρχιμανδρίτης Νεκτάριος, τηρήσας αυτήν καὶ μετά τὴν χειροτονίαν του εἰς Επίσκοπον Πενταπόλεως. Καί ἐν ἀρχῇ μέν ἡτο τὰ μέγιστα εὐχαριστημένος ὁ Πατριάρχης ἐκ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ ἄγιου Πενταπόλεως, διότι καὶ ρέκτης καὶ δραστήριος ἐδείχθη, κατόπιν ὅμως ἤρξατο δυσαρεστών τὸν Πατριάρχην, ἄτε ἐπιδεικνύων διαθέσεις πρός αὐτόθουλον καὶ ἀνεξάρτητον ἐνέργειαν, διαθέσεις ὑπό τοῦ Πατριάρχου ἐκληφθείσας, ὡς ἀντιπειθαρχικάς, ἔνεκα τῶν ὅποιών ἡ Αύτοῦ Παναγιότης ἐνόμισεν ὄρθον, νά ἀπομακρύνη αὐτὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Κατά πηγάς Πατριαρχικάς πρός ταῖς ἀντιπειθαρχικαῖς διαθέσεσι, τὴν ἀπομάκρυνσιν ἄγιου Πενταπόλεως προυκάλεσαν καὶ λόγοι ήθικῆς. Καθήκον ὅμως μοί ἐπιβάλλεται, νά ἀνακοινώσω, ὅτι κατ' ἄλλας πηγάς καὶ ταύτας ἀξιοπίστους, ὑπῆρξεν, ὡς πρός τοῦτο ὁ Μητροπολίτης θῦμα ραδιουργίας καὶ συκοφαντίας.

'Ἐν τέλει λαμβάνω τὴν πιμήν, νά γνωρίσω τῇ Υμετέρᾳ Εξοχότηι, ὅτι παρά πάντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ Πατριαρχείον, ὁ ἄγιος Πενταπόλεως ἐθεωρείτο ὡς κληρικός ἄριστος, ρέκτης καὶ δραστήριος.

'Ο Εὐπειθέστατος
Γ. Γρυπάρης"

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 48-49].

bring the Minister himself to thoughts of hesitation about him. Nectarios finally decided to write the following personal letter to Patriarch Sophronios, dated March 11, 1895:

All Holy Master !
I kiss your most holy right hand ardently.

In Alexandria

The Ministry of Ecclesiastical and Public Education asked of the Political Representative of the Greek Government in Alexandria, Mr. J. Gryparis, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, information concerning me and the reason of my departure from Egypt.

Have I been, Your All Holiness, so irreverent towards you, that after four years since my unjust departure from Egypt, you were compelled to give the Patriarchal staff such defamatory information against me, to give to the Greek Government? During these past four years I have lived humbly and reverently, simply trying to earn my daily bread, which I then shared with the poor. During the past four years I have also acted deaf and dumb in reaction to the many patriarchal accusations which have been made against me. When, did Your All Holiness realize my 'disobedient tendencies'? Through which actions did they manifest themselves? Which were the indications that also characterized me as being disrespectful, rebellious, and an evil servant who was plotting against your ecclesiastical authority? Which ecclesiastical tribunal tried me and condemned me, and which one decided that I was immoral? How then could the Patriarchal Commissioners blatantly inform the Political Representative of the Greek Government, who was seeking information in an official capacity, that I was removed from my position because I was rebellious, unethical and immoral? Where are the transcripts to this effect? Where are my accusers? Where are the witnesses? Where is the evidence of my crime? On what grounds was this official accusation against me made, an accusation which condemns me to a moral death? What great wrong did I do against you, Your All Holiness, or for that matter, against any of the patriarchal trustees? Why is there such a great wrath, and pursuit against me, seeking my total destruction, even though I am so far? Please, tell me, how I have troubled you in the least? What was my great sin

against you? What evil desire and cunning have I had? With God as my witness, I tell you that I have never, ever plotted anything whatsoever against anyone. I have only sought good throughout my life, and did so with great love and many good works. I truly believe that Your All Holiness should remember having experienced and seen the glorious examples of my humble and good intentions. Besides, what is all this for? Your wrath has been satisfied, the work has been completed against me and the evil one has been punished. What, therefore, is the purpose of my outdated protest?... The purpose is to bring it to the knowledge of Your All Holiness, that your wrath against me is unjust. May God be my witness and judge.

I remain, with deep reverence, and pray the best for you.

+ Nectarios of Pentapolis³⁵⁹

³⁵⁹Saint Nectarios' letter to Patriarch Sophronios is the following:

"Παναγιώτατε Δέσποτα!
Τήν Παναγίαν' Υμῶν δεξιάν εύσεβάστως κατασπάζομαι
Εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
Τός Υπουργείον τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαιδεύσεως
ἐζήτησε διά τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν παρά τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ
πολιτικοῦ πράκτορος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως κυρίου Γ. Γρυπάρη
πληροφορίας περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἵδι φῆσθαι τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀναχωρήσεώς μου.

Τοσοῦτον, Παναγιώτατε, ἐγενόμην ἐγώ κακός πρός Υμᾶς, ὥστε μετά
τέσσερα ἔτη ἀπό τῆς ἀδικωτάτης ἀπό Αἴγυπτου ἀναχωρήσεώς μου, καθ' ἄ
ἐζήτουν (φυτοζωῶν) τὸν ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον, ὅπως μερίζωμαι αὐτὸν τοῖς πτωχοῖς,
κωφός καὶ ἄναυδος γενόμενος πρός τὰς ποικίλας τῶν Πατριαρχικῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ
κατηγορίας, οἱ Πατριαρχικοί τοιαύτας κατ' ἐμοῦ να δώσωσι πληροφορίας,
οὕτως ἐπισήμως ζητηθείσας παρά τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως; Πότε
Παναγιώτατε κατενοήσατε τὰς ἀντιπειθαρχικάς μου διαθέσεις; 'Ἐν ὅποιοις
ἐξεδηλώθησαν ἔργοις; Οποῖαι αἱ ἐνδείξεις, ὥστε νά χαρακτηρισθῶ, ως ἀσεβῆς
καὶ ἐπαναστάτης καὶ δοῦλος πονηρός κακά μελετήσας κατά τῆς
Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μου ἀρχῆς; Όποιον Ἐκκλησιαστικόν Δικαστήριον μέ
ἐδίκασε καὶ μέ κατεδίκασε καὶ ἀπεφάνθη περὶ τῆς ἀνθικότητός μου, ὥστε οἱ
Πατριαρχικοί μετά παρρησίας νά πληροφορήσωσι τὸν πολιτικόν τῆς
Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως πράκτορα, ἐπισήμως ζητούντα τοσαύτην σημαντικήν
παρ' αὐτῶν πληροφορίαν, ὅτι ἐδιώχθην, ως ἐπαναστάτης καὶ ἀνήθικος; Ποὺ
εύρισκονται τά πρακτικά; Ποὺ οἱ κατήγοροί μου; Ποὺ οἱ μάρτυρες; Ποὺ τό
σῶμα του ἐγκλήματος; Ποὺ τό ἔδαφος ἐφ' ἐστηρίχθη ἡ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐπίσημος
αὐτῇ κατηγορίᾳ, δι' ἡς κατεδικαζόμην εἰς ἡθικόν θάνατον; Όποιον μέγα
κακόν είργασθην πρός Υμᾶς Παναγιώτατε, ἡ καὶ πρός τίνα τῶν Πατριαρχικῶν,
ὅπως δολοφονηθῶ; Διατί ἡ τοσαύτη 'Υμῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ μῆνις ἡ καὶ πόρρω
παρακολουθοῦσα μοι, δι' ἡς ζητεῖται ὁ παντελής ὀλοθρευμός μου; Κατά τί
τούλαχιστον παρηνώχλησά Υμᾶς; Όποιον τό μέγα πρός Υμᾶς ἀμάρτημά μου;
Όποια ἡ πονηρία μου καὶ ἡ κακία μου; Εγώ ἐπικαλοῦμαι μάρτυρα τὸν Θεόν,
ὅτι οὐδέποτε περὶ οὐδενός ἐμελέτησα κακόν· μόνον τό ἀγαθόν ἐμελέτησα καθ
ὅλην τὴν ζωὴν μου καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐραστής καὶ ἐργάτης ἐγενόμην· φρονῶ ὅτι τῶν
ἀγαθῶν μου διαθέσεων πείραν ἔλαβε καὶ τρανάς τὰς ἐνδείξεις ἔσχεν ἡ Γ. Θ.
Παναγιώτης. Άλλά ἦδη πρός τί ταῦτα πάντα; Τό ἔργον συνετελέσθη, ἡ μῆνις
ἰκανοποιήθη, ὁ πονηρός παραδειγματικῶς ἐπιμωρήθη· πρός τί ἡ ἄκαιρος αὗτη

Sophronios did not answer to Nectarios' letter, therefore after Sophronios' death, Nectarios wrote to the new Patriarch of Alexandria, Photios, by October 10 of 1902. He wrote the whole history of what had happened there in detail. He even wrote about the injustice done to him.³⁶⁰ Nectarios somehow hoped, that Patriarch Photios would clear up matters and that his life would now take a turn for the better, perhaps bringing him new ventures and struggles in Egypt. The days passed and Nectarios heard nothing from Photios. Although Nectarios tried to remain confident about receiving help from the Patriarch, he could not help but wonder. Nectarios received no response. He was informed by reliable and important sources that the new Patriarch had indeed received the letter and filed it under a non-existent day of the year, so that he could put it off indefinitely.

On September 10, 1903, Nectarios decided that he had to make a stern and final decision about how he would clear his name. It was then that he decided that even if there were only a remote possibility of receiving an answer, he must write to the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. At that time, this most Supreme Throne was occupied by Joachim III. Nectarios proceeded to write a letter to him, seeking the following:

The main reason that I made the request to the
Patriarch of Alexandria Photios, was to clear my

διαμαρτύρησις Πρός ούδεν πλέον ἔτερον, ἀλλ' ἡ πρός τό γνωρίσαι τῇ
Ὑμετέρᾳ Θειοτάτῃ Παναγιότηπι, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κατ' ἐμοῦ μῆνις Αὔτης ἄδικος· ὁ
Θεός ἔστω μοι Μάρτυς καὶ Κριτής.

Διατελῶ μετά βαθυτάτου σεβασμοῦ καί εὕχομαι τά ἄριστα.

+ 'ΟΠενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος"

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)
(Athens, 1985) 50-51].

³⁶⁰Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–
1920) (Athens, 1985) 52-53.

position as a hierarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church and that this be announced to ecclesiastical authorities. This has to be done because, as it presently stands, I am discharged and therefore do not belong to any of the Autocephalous Churches. Even though I have been in Greece for fourteen consecutive years serving the country, I am officially considered by the Holy Synod governing the Church of Greece as simply a visiting priest, and on all the communication it uses, I am given the title 'Visiting Hierarch.'

The fact that a hierarch has been fully discharged and does not belong to any Church has been unknown up to now in the Church annals and I feel that even Your All Holiness, as well as any other expert of Ecclesiastical Canons and Decrees cannot accept this as being proper, nor can approve of this.³⁶¹

Patriarch Joachim was on the spot. He was the third, as well as the highest ranking Patriarch whom Nectarios approached with his dramatic request. In order for him to solve this matter he would have to go against Patriarch Photios and those close to him. Joachim did not ignore Nectarios' request though. A month later, on

³⁶¹Saint Nectarios' letter to Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim is the following:

"Διά τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μου ἔζητουν παρά τῆς Α. Μακαριότητος τοῦ Πατριάρχου Αλεξανδρείας Φωτίου θεραπείαν τῆς προσγενομένης μοι ἀδικίας καὶ ἰκανοποίησιν τοῦ δικαίου. Ἀλλ' ἡ Α. Μακαριότης καίτοι πρό ἔνδεκα ἀκριβῶς μηνῶν ἐγένετο κάτοχος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μου, ἐγκλείστως φερούσης καὶ ἀντίγραφα πιστά τῶν διακοινώσεων καὶ τοῦ ἀπολυτηρίου, ἐν τούτοις ἀναξίους ἐθεώρησεν ἡμᾶς ἀπαντήσεως. Ἀπορῶν περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου καὶ δεόμενος συμβουλῆς, ἔκρινα ἐπιβαλλόμενόν μοι, νά προσδράμω πρός τὴν Γμετέραν Θ. καὶ Προσκυνητήν Παναγιότητα καὶ ἔξαιτήσωμαι τάς σοφάς Αὐτῆς συμβουλάς περὶ τοῦ τί δέον γενέσθαι.

'Η περί θεραπείας αἴτησίς μου πρός τὸν Μακαριώτατον Πατριάρχην Αλεξανδρείας Φώτιον κύριον σκοπόν ἔχει τὴν διακανόνισιν τῆς θέσεώς μου, ὡς Ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ανατολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Αρχῆς, ἐξ ἣς ἔξαρτώμαι καὶ εἰς ἣν ὑπάγομαι, ὡς Αρχιερεύς, διότι, ὡς ἡδη ἔχουσι τά κατ' ἐμέ, εὐρίσκομαι ἀπολελυμένος καὶ εἰς οὐδεμίαν τῶν Αὐτοκεφάλων Ἑκκλησιῶν ἀνήκων, διότι καὶ ἐν Ἑλλάδι μετά δέκα τεσσάρων ἑτῶν συνεχῆ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐν τῷ κράτει ὡς ὑπαλλήλου, θεωροῦμαι ὑπό τῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδι Διοικούσης Ιερᾶς Συνόδου, ὡς παρεπιδημῶν Αρχιερεύς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρό ἐμέ Αὐτῆς ἐγγράφοις χρήται τῇ λέξει 'παρεπιδημοῦντά Αρχιερέα'. Τό εἰς τά Ἑκκλησιαστικά χρονικά ἄγνωστον τοιοῦτον γεγονός, τό είναι Αρχιερέα τινα ὅλως ἀπολελυμένον καὶ εἰς μηδεμίαν Ἑκκλησίαν ἀνήκοντα, φρονῶ, ὅτι οὕτε ἡ Γμετέρα Θ. Παναγιότης, οὕτε ἔτερός τις εἰδήμων τῶν Ἑκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων καὶ διατάξεων, δύναται ἢ νά κρίνῃ, ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἢ νά ἐπιδοκιμάσῃ.'

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 54-55].

October 25, 1903,³⁶² he addressed two letters to the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria and to Saint Nectarios, sending his patriarchal greetings, and saying that Photios is the only proper person who could give the solution to the Saint's request for the moral rehabilitation and arrangement of his position.

When Nectarios received the Patriarch's suggestion on what he should do, he felt relieved, for whatever he could humanly do, had been done. He depended on the goodness of the Lord to take care of him and provide for him. However, it nevertheless boggles the mind that an Orthodox cleric, a bishop with an impeccable past and years of good acts, did not have a proper position.

The defamation of the Saint through people of the Patriarchate, before his appointment to Rizareios, brought back this

³⁶²The two letters that Patriarch Joachim addressed to Patriarch Photios and Saint Nectarios are the following:

"ἀρ.378

Τῷ Πατριάρχῃ Ἀλεξανδρείας Φωτίῳ

Τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησιαστικῆν 'Ριζάρειον Σχολήν τανῦν διευθύνοντος Ἱερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως κύρ Νεκταρίου γράψαντος ἡμῖν ἔναγχος περὶ τινῶν ἀξιώσεων, ἃς λέγει ὅτι ἔχει ἀπό τοῦ Θρόνου τοῦ περισπουδάστου ἡμῖν σεβασμίας Αὐτῆς Μακαριότητος καὶ περὶ ὧν καὶ πρός Αὐτήν ἥδη πρὸ καιροῦ ἀπετάθη, διαγνώμη τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγίας καὶ ἱερᾶς Συνόδου καλόν ἐνομίσαμεν ἵνα γνωρίσωμεν τοῦτο ἀδελφικῶς τῇ Σεβασμίᾳ Αὐτῆς Μακαριότητι εἰς ἃς τὴν κυριαρχικήν κρίσιν καὶ ἐκτίμησιν, ὡς εἰκός, τό πράγμα ὑπάγεται. Τοῦτο τοίνυν διὰ τῆς ἀδελφικῆς ἡμῶν ταύτης ἐπιστολῆς πράττοντες καὶ προσδιοιβάζοντες ἐν ἀντιγράφοις τό τε πρός ἡμᾶς γράμμα τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἱερότητος καὶ τά ἐπισυνημμένα αὐτῷ σχετικά ἔγγραφα, κατασπαζόμεθα Αὐτήν καὶ αὐθίζεν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ.

'Ο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως' Ιωακείμ
1903 Ι' Οκτωβρίου 25 !"

"ἀρ.378

Τῷ Ἱερωτάτῳ Μητροπολ. Πενταπόλεως Νεκταρίῳ

λαβόντες τό ἀπό ΙΙ τοῦ παρελθόντος γράμμα τῆς αὐτῆς Ἱερότητος μετά τῶν συνημμένων καὶ προφρόνως τήν ἀφ' ἡμῶν δυνατήν ἀντίληψιν εἰς τήν ἡν ἐκτίθησιν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτῆς παρασχεῖν ἐπιθυμούντες, συνοδικῇ διασκέψει διεβιβάσαμεν ἐν ἀντιγράφοις τό τε γράμμα καὶ τά λοιπά ἔγγραφα πρός τόν Μακαριώτατον Πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς οὐ, ὡς εἰκός, τήν κυριαρχικήν κρίσιν καὶ ἀπόφασιν τό πράγμα ἀποκλειστικῶς ὑπάγεται τήν τοιαύτην ἐνέργειαν ἀνακοινούμενοι νῦν τή αὐτῆς Ἱερότητι εἰς ἀπάντησιν καὶ ἐπιδηλούντες ὅπι, ὡς καί ἡ αὐτῆς Ἱερότης οἰκοθεν ἐννοεῖ, πλείον τῆς ἐνεργείας ταύτης ἐπί τοῦ προκειμένου ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία οὐδέν ἥδυνατο ἥ δύναται πράξαι, αἰτούμεθα αὐτῇ πᾶν ἀγαθόν παρά Θεοῦ, οὐ ἡ χάρις καὶ τό ἄπειρον Αὐτοῦ ἔλεος εἴη μετ' αὐτῆς.

'Ο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως' Ιωακείμ
1903 Ι' Οκτωβρίου 25 !"

[Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, τοῦ ἔτους 1903, p. 469].

hatred. This time he was accused of being an immoral person and a revolutionary. The Saint protested to the Patriarchs of Alexandria Sophronios and Photios, and Joachim the 3rd of Constantinople, but without success. He continued to behave towards them as before. He collaborated with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in matters of dialogue with heterodoxes, he continued his correspondence, and he also sent writings to the Alexandria Patriarchate.³⁶³ Nectarios offered hospitality in Greece to two persons of the Alexandrian Throne, the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevai in Rizareios,³⁶⁴ and the priest Seraphim Fokas in his Monastery in Aegina.³⁶⁵ These two men had something in common: they had both contributed to the expulsion of the Saint from Egypt, as we read in the present study. Perhaps Nectarios had been informed of the negative role they had played during the period of his problems with Sophronios. He did not hold it against them, but with his hospitality he showed them in action Christian love and the forgiveness of the enemies.

³⁶³In the Records of Patriarch Photios' correspondence we read the following:

"Ο Νεκτάριος Μητρ. Πενταπόλεως ἀπέστειλε τῷ 1909 ἐξ Αθηνῶν ἐν σώμα τοῦ συγγράμματός του "Τριαδικόν ἦτοι ὡδαί καὶ ὕμνοι πρός τὸν ἐν ΤριάδιΘεόν".

Εύρετήριον Α΄ δωρεῶν συγγραμμάτων πρός τὴν Α. Θ. Μακαριότητα, τὸν Πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρείας Φώπιον, pp. 22-23.

³⁶⁴Βιβλίον Ἀλληλογραφίας δεύτερον Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς, No. 1917, p. 408.

³⁶⁵Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *ΟἍγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 201-203.

PART FIVE: THE SPIRITUAL FATHER (1908-1920)

1. The Re-establishment of Zoodochos Pege in Aegina

On 17 February 1912, a meeting of the local town-council was held at the town-hall of Aegina in order to discuss a proposal which had been made by the mayor of the island, Nicholas Peppas.³⁶⁶ The proposal was to offer the church of Zoodochos Pege and its surrounding cells at Xantos, near the old city of Aegina, to Metropolitan Nectarios of Pentapolis. As a result, the prelate would be allowed to establish the institution of religious education "Holy Trinity" at his own expense, or whatever public welfare institution he may wish to create.

The local town-council under the presidency of Evangelos Katsimigos endorsed the mayor's proposal in its fourth session, expressing the conviction that a useful and sacred purpose would be supported in the island by this, and the religious faith of the citizens would be strengthened and increased. The prefect of Attica and Viotia, Dasios, was in full agreement with the approval of the municipality of Aegina's town-council. As he indicated in his letter to the mayor of Aegina, dated 6 April 1912, "the personality of Metropolitan Nectarios provides a complete guarantee regarding the utilization of the church of Zoodochos Pege and its surrounding cells as a means to strengthen religious awareness and divine worship."³⁶⁷

In that same year (1912) the restoration work of the Sacred Convent of Aegina which was to be given to Metropolitan Nectarios

³⁶⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, ΌΑγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920). (Athens, 1985) 158-159.

³⁶⁷*ibid.*, p. 160.

was completed. This work had already begun in the year 1904 after an agreement with verbal approval from Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens, who invited Nectarios into his office and asked him to give an account of his efforts to re-establish the monastery in Aegina. The Metropolitan's enthusiastic interest gave Nectarios the optimism to go on, and to send a letter to Aegina, dated October 19, 1904, announcing to his spiritual daughters that Metropolitan Theokletos has consented to the re-establishment of their Convent.³⁶⁸

However, Metropolitan Theokletos came to believe certain slanderous actions brought against Nectarios and changed his mind. Nectarios, being informed of Theokletos' disapproval regarding the already established convent, decided to write to him reminding him of his verbal consent to the re-establishment of the convent and to request his moral support. Nectarios would have very much liked the monastery to have been legally and officially recognized by the State so that it might accept public donations and to possess its own property. In his letter to Metropolitan Theokletos, dated 7 August 1913, Nectarios requested the Athenian prelate to make a decision about the following :

.... either the convent should be recognized by both the Church and the State as a private Lavra under the jurisdiction of the Metropolis of Athens, conducting its own affairs according to the approved monastic regulations, or through changing its character and name, the convent could be recognized by the State alone as a

³⁶⁸Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Άγιου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονής Άγιας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) No. 1 of 19th. October 1904, p. 25. Cf. also, Catechetical Letters: No. 4 of 2nd. November 1904, No. 85 of 14th. December 1906, No. 116 of 28th. October 1907, pp. 33, 172, 224. Cf. also, Archim. Th. Papakonstantinou, *Ακολουθία, Βίος καὶ Θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Οσίοις ἀειμνήστου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνη Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1937) 15.

public welfare institution, employing nuns for its staff according to the practices of the Western Church.³⁶⁹

Metropolitan Theokletos did not consider his brother in Christ to be worthy of a reply to his letter. Consequently, Nectarios decided to write a formal letter to Theokletos, on 20th June 1914, nearly a year after his first letter, requesting the following:

Your Eminence, I request your approval for the creation of this convent, and for the acknowledgment of it as a private monastery for women operating under the auspices of the Holy Metropolis of Athens on which it depends.

Your Eminence, my desire is for this monastery to be a shining model which will not only be an example of the holy monasteries of this nation, but will also be an honor to your province and a place of blessing to those who visit it. In order for this desired goal to become a reality, I leave Your Eminence every freedom to draw up the rules under which the practicing nuns can abide in the monastery, so that they may become models of virtue and perfection.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹Saint Nectarios's letter mentioned the following :

".... πρόκειται περί διλήμματος ή ν' ἀναγνωρισθῇ ή Μονή παρά τε τῆς Ἑκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας, ὡς ιδιωτική Μονή ύποκειμένη εἰς τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν τῆς Μητροπόλεως Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πολιτευομένη κατά τάς διατάξεις τῶν περί μοναχῶν κανόνων, ηνά ἀλλάξῃ χαρακτήρα καὶ σὸν μοναχῶν καὶ ν' ἀναγνωρισθῇ ύπό τῆς Πολιτείας, ὡς ηθικοθρησκευτικόν ίδρυμα μέ προσωπικόν μοναχῶν κατά τά ίδρυματα τῶν καλογραιῶν τῆς Δυτικῆς Ἑκκλησίας."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 140-141; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος ο Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 121-123].

³⁷⁰Nectarios' letter has as follows:

"Σεβασμιώτατε, λαμβάνω τό θάρρος, ν' ἔξαιτήσωμαι παρ' Αὐτῆς τήν ἔγκρισιν Αὐτῆς πρός ίδρυσιν Παρθενώνος καὶ ἀναγνώριση αὐτήν, ὡς ιδιωτικήν γυναικείαν Μονήν, τελούσαν ύπό τήν ηθικήν προστασίαν τῆς Ιερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Αθηνῶν, ἐξήξαρτάται.

Σεβασμιώτατε! Ο ἐμός πόθος είναι ν' ἀναδειχθῇ ο Παρθενών ούτος πρότυπον ιερᾶς Μονῆς, ητις νά τιμῷ τήν Θεόσωστον ύμῶν Ἐπαρχίαν καὶ ύπόδειγμα γένηται ταῖς τοῦ Κράτους Ιεραῖς Μοναῖς καὶ ώφελιμος ταῖς προσιούσιν αὐτῇ. Πρός ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ ἐπιζητουμένου σκοποῦ, ἀφίημι τή 'Υμετέρᾳ Σεβασμιότητι πάσαν ἐλευθερίαν, ὅπως συντάξῃ κανονισμόν, καθ ὃν πολιτευόμεναι αἱ ἐν τῇ Μονῇ ἀσκούμεναι μοναχαί, ἀναδειχθῶσι πρότυπα ἀρετῆς καὶ τελειότητος."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 142-143; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος ο Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 124-125, 127].

This time Nectarios informed Theokletos in the name of the Triune God about the erection of the church from its foundations, and the transformation of the abandoned church yard into a sacred convent. In this same letter, Nectarios sought the approval of Metropolitan Theokletos to establish the convent, and its recognition as a private institution under the patronage and jurisdiction of the Sacred Metropolis of Athens. He acknowledged the absolute right of the Metropolitan of Athens to constitute a monastic rule which the nuns would follow. The bishop's desire, as he indicated in his letter, was for the convent to become highly distinguished among all the other convents throughout the entire state and of use to all those who sought for divine help and comfort.

Three and a half months passed after Metropolitan Nectarios sent his second letter to Theokletos in Athens, when the latter decided to express his true feelings on the subject in his letter dated 30 September 1914, to "the Right Rev.. the former Metropolitan of Pentapolis, Mgr. Nectarios, in Aegina." Theokletos's letter was referring to canon law and ignoring the existing work and life of the convent at Aegina. It carried the protocol number 1363 and said the following:

.... My soul is deeply sorrowed by having been informed by Your Reverence that without my knowledge and will, a community of women has been created in Aegina, which is under my supervision, and that the number of women is increasing to this day, that cells have been built mostly through their donations, that there is a chapel, and that generally you are leading this community as if you were the abbot of an acknowledged monastery. In addition, you are also elevating the women to being wearers of the great habit by cutting their hair, and you perform divine liturgies as the parish priest of a newly formed community, with the consecrated nuns as your assistants.

My soul is deeply sorrowed because you are in full knowledge of the holy canons of our most Holy Church, especially the fourth canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod, which states the following: 'It is ruled that no one, anywhere, should erect or form a monastery or chapel without the knowledge of the local bishop.' Also, the first canon of the First-Second Synod states, 'Nobody is permitted to erect a monastery without the knowledge and will of the bishop and his recording of it in his archives'. Your Reverence has proceeded to do the aforementioned without taking into consideration all that should be done prior to this, nor those things which those who are striving ought to do on their own.³⁷¹

³⁷¹Metropolitan Theokletos' letter has as follows :

"Αριθμ. Πρωτ. 1363
Διεκδ. 616

'Εν' Αθήναις τῇ 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1914

Βασίλειον τῆς Ἑλλάδος
'Ο Μητροπολίτης Αθηνῶν
Πρός
Τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον Μητροπολίτην πρώην Πενταπόλεως
κ. Νεκτάριον

Εἰς Αἴγιναν

'Αλγούμεν τὴν ψυχήν, Σεβασμιώτατε, πληροφορούμενοι, ὅτι ἡ Ἰμετέρα Σεβασμιότης ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ γνώμης ἡμῶν ἴδρυσεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, τελούσῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ποιμαντορίαν, κοινότητα γυναικῶν, ὃν ὁ ἀριθμός ὁ σημέραι πληθύνεται, ἀνήγειρεν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κελλιά, δαπάναις ὡς τὰ πολλά τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, καὶ εὐκτήριον οἶκον, ἥγειται δ' αὐτῆς ἐν πᾶσι, καθάπερ ἡγούμενος καὶ εἰς μεγαλοσχήμους καὶ τελεῖ ὡς ἵερεύς ἐφημέριος τάς ἐν τῇ νεοτεύκτῳ ταύτῃ κοινότητη ιεροτελεστίας, βοηθουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ τεταγμένων γυναικῶν, φερουσῶν ιερά ἄμφια, ἢτοι ἐπιμανίκια καὶ ὄράριον.

'Αλγούμεν τὴν ψυχήν, διότι ἐν πλήρει γνώσει τῶν ιερῶν κανόνων τῆς 'Αγίας ἡμῶν Ἐκκλησίας καὶ δή τοῦ δ' τῆς Δ' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου ἔχοντος οὕτω' Ἔδοξε μηδένα μέν μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν, μηδέ συνιστάν μοναστήριον, ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον παρά γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἐπισκόπου Μηδένα δέ προσδέχεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις ἐπὶ τῷ μονάσαι παρά γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου', τοῦ α' τῆς ΑΒ' διαγορεύοντος Μηδενί ἔξειναι μοναστήριον οἰκοδομεῖν, ἄνευ τῆς Ἐπισκόπου γνώμης καὶ βουλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἐπισκοπικοῖς ἀρχείοις ἐναποτίθεσθαι', ἡ Ὁμετέρα Σεβασμιότης προέβη εἰς τὸ ἀνωτέρω ἐπιχείρημα, μηδόλως λαβούσα ὑπ' ὄψιν πάνθ' ὅσα πρό τούτου ἐπιτέτακται γίγνεσθαι, μηδέ ἔκεινα, ἀτινα διά τούς ἰδία γνώμη καὶ βλάβη ἐπιχειροῦντες.

Ναί, ἀλγούμεν, Σεβασμιώτατε, οὐ μήν διά τὰ παρά τῆς Ὁμετέρας Σεβασμιότητος οὐτωσίν ἀποτολμηθέντα, ἀλλά καὶ διότι ἐπόμενοι τῷ αὐτῷ δ' ιερῷ κανόνι τῆς Δ' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, καθ' ὃν ὄφειλομεν τὴν δέουσαν πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μοναστηρίων, καθῆκον ἡγούμεθα, ἵνα διά τοῦ παρόντος ἡμῶν γράμματος προσκαλέσωμεν Αὐτήν, ὅπως δῶ ἡμῖν, ὡς τῷ ἀρμοδίῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ, λόγον γραπτόν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔξης.

α) Διά τί ἄνευ γνώμης καὶ βουλῆς ἡμῶν, ὡς ἀρμοδίου Ἐπισκόπου, ἴδρυσε τὴν εἰρημένην κοινότητα, καὶ διά τίνα σκοπόν.

β) Ποίος δὲ ἀριθμός τῶν τὴν κοινότητα ταύτην ἀποτελουσῶν σήμερον γυναικῶν πρός πλήρη δέ τούτου διασάφησιν ἀποσταλήτω ἡμῖν πίναξ ἐμφαίνων ὑπ' αὑξοντα ἀριθμόν τό δονομα καὶ ἐπώνυμον, τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν πατρίδα ἐκάστης τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, τὸν χρόνον τῆς προσελεύσεως εἰς τὴν κοινότητα, τὸν χρόνον τῆς κουράς, ποῦ καὶ παρά τίνος αὐται εἰσι κεκαρμέναι, εἰ ἀληθῶς εἰσι τοιαῦται.

In this letter Theokletos claimed that the erection and functioning of the convent had taken place without his will and consent. He consequently invited Nectarios to answer the following eight questions in writing: a) Why did he establish a convent without the consent of the local bishop? b) What is the exact number of nuns who live in the convent? c) How many cells have been built, at what cost and who paid for them? In the name of which Saint is the church dedicated? When and by whom was it consecrated? d) Do the nuns wear sacred vestments in the services performed in the convent? e) What fasting rule do the nuns follow? f) What is the significance of the bishop's presence, and what kind of spiritual leadership does he exercise?³⁷²

In this same letter Theokletos called Nectarios' convent "women's community (κοινότητα γυναικῶν)," the convent's church

γ) Πόσα κελλιά ἔχουσι κτισθῆ διά τήν κατοικίαν τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, πόση δαπάνη δί αὐτά ἀπητήθη, τίς κατέβαλεν τήν δαπάνην, ὄνομαστί τίς ὁ καταβάλων καὶ ποῖον τό καταβληθέν ὑπὲ αὐτοῦ ποσόν.

δ) Ἐπ' ὄνόματι τίνος Ἀγίου τιμάται ὁ εὔκτηριος τῆς κοινότητος οἶκος· πόση ἡ δέ αὐτοῦ δαπάνη καὶ τίς ὁ καταβάλων αὐτήν· ἂν ἐνεκαινίσθη κατά τάς διατυπώσεις τῆς Ἁγίας ἡμῶν Ἑκκλησίας, παρά τίνος Ἀρχιερέως καὶ πότε ἐγένετο ὁ ἐγκαίνιασμός καὶ ἂν διά τήν ἀνέγερσιν καὶ τά ἐγκαίνια προηγήθησαν τά διατεταγμένα.

ε) Ἄν δητῶς ἐπικουροῦσιν ἐν τῇ Θείᾳ Λειτουργίᾳ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς Ἀκολουθίαις γυναικες καθωρισμέναι, φέρουσαι τά ὡς εἱρηται ἀνωτέρω ἱερά ἄμφια· καὶ ποία ἡ ὑπὲ αὐτῶν τελουμένη ὑπηρεσία.

στ) Πῶς διαιτῶνται αἱ τήν κοινότητα ἀποτελοῦσαι γυναικες ἀπό τήν ἔποψιν τῆς ὑγιεινῆς, ἢτοι κατοικίας, τροφῆς, ἐνδυμασίας· τίνες οἱ προμηθευταί καὶ οἱ ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ πόθεν ἡ προμήθεια τῶν διά τὸν βίον χρησίμων.

ζ) Ποίαν ἡ Ὅμετέρα Σεβασμιότης ἀσκεῖ ἡγεσίαν ἐπί τοῦ ἐν γένει τῆς κοινότητος βίου.

η) Τίς ἐν συνόλῳ καὶ ἐν μέρει καὶ καθ ὅλας τάς ἐπόψεις ὁ διέπων τά τῆς σωματικῆς καὶ πνευματικῆς ζωῆς κανονισμός.

Αναμένοντες ὅσον οἰόν τε τάχιστα τὸν αἰτούμενον παρά τῆς Ὅμ. Σεβασμιότητος γραπτόν λόγον ἐπί πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνωτέρω

Διατελοῦμεν

Τῆς Ὅμετέρας Σεβασμιότητος ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφός

"Ολωςπρόθυμος

+ 'Ο' Αθηνῶν Θεόκλητος"

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 144-145].

³⁷²ibid., p. 145.

"Building of prayer (εύκτήριος οἶκος)" and the nuns "devout women (τεταγμέναι γυναῖκες)." ³⁷³ The dishonesty of the Metropolitan of Athens is apparent in that the words he used to describe the convent show his hypocritical ignorance of its establishment in Aegina, and at the same time his unwillingness to accept it as a functioning convent. It is interesting that Metropolitan Theokletos began to show interest in the official approval of his brother in Christ's convent ten years after the commencement of its functioning. Most of the biographers of the Saint share the common belief that Theokletos was not so much bothered by the establishment of a new monastery within the limits of the kingdom of Greece, but rather mostly by the Metropolitan of Pentapolis abandoning any other ecclesiastical activity and becoming ^{an} ascetic in a little convent in the mountains of Aegina.³⁷⁴

Metropolitan Nectarios, being obedient to the orders of the local bishop, sent a letter from Aegina, dated 10 October 1914,³⁷⁵

³⁷³ ibid., p. 144.

³⁷⁴Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 117-118.

³⁷⁵Saint Nectarios answering letter to Theokletos is the following:

"Ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τῇ 10' Οκτωβρίου 1914

Πρός

Τὴν Αὐτοῦ Σεβασμιότητα τὸν Μητροπολίτην Αθηνῶν
καὶ Πρόεδρον τῆς Ιερᾶς Συνόδου Κύριον Θεόκλητον Προσκυνητῶς
Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἔνεκεν.

'Απαντῶν εἰς τό από 30 παρελθόντος μηνός καὶ ύπ' ἀριθμόν 1363/616
ἔγγραφον τῆς Υμετέρας Σεβασμιότητος, γνωρίζω Αὔτη
α') ότι οὐδεμίαν νέαν Μονήν ἀνηγείραμεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν
ἀγνείᾳ τῆς Υμετέρας Σεβασμιότητος.

β') ότι τῇ συγκαταθέσει τῆς Υμετέρας Σεβασμιότητος ἐπεσκέφθημεν
τὴν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ παλαιάν ἐρειπιώδη Μονήν, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγκαταστήσω πτωχάς
τινας εὐσεβεῖς καὶ ποθούσας νά μονάσωσι κόρας, ἀναλαμβάνων τὴν
συντήρησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ των καὶ συντελέσω εἰς
τὴν ἀνασύστασιν τῆς Μονῆς ταύτης τῇ Υμετέρᾳ εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ εὐλογίᾳ.

Κατά τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην ἐπίσκεψιν συνώδευσεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Μονήν
ὁ Δήμαρχος κύριος Πέππας καὶ ὁ Ἡγούμενος τῆς Μονῆς κύριος Θεοδόσιος,
ὅστις μοί εἶπεν, ότι θέλει συστήσει εἰς τὴν Υμ. Σεβασμιότητα, νά τεθῇ
κονδύλιον εἰς τὸν προϋπολογισμόν τῆς Μονῆς εἰς ὑποστήριξιν τῆς Μονῆς καὶ
τῆς συγκροτουμένης ἀδελφότητος. Ο κύριος Πέππας μοί ἐξέφρασε τὸν πόθον
αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ιδη ἀνακαινίζομένην τὴν Μονήν.

Περὶ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως ταύτης καὶ τῆς γενομένης διασκέψεως
ἐπιστρέψας εἰς Αθήνας, ὡμίλησα πρός τὴν Υμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα καὶ

έζήτησα τήν ἄδειαν νά ἀναλάβω τό ἔργον δαπάναις ἴδιαις καί νά ἀποκαταστήσω τάς κόρας· ἐν τούτῳ τό μεταξύ αἱ κόρες μετέβησαν εἰς Αἴγιναν, ᾧνα ἐπισκεφθώσι τήν Μονήν καί πληροφορηθώσι καί περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλούς ἐν αὐτῇ διαμονῆς αὐτῶν παρά τού 'Αστυνόμου, δόντος αὐταῖς γνωστοῦ.

Τὴν ἀπάντησιν τῆς Ὑμετέρας Σεβασμιότητος ἐπεμψα τότε αὐταῖς· ἡ ἀπάντησις σώζεται. Πρός ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνθυμίζω τό ἔξῆς εἰρημένον ὑπό τῆς Ὑμ. Σ., ὅτι μετά τὴν συντέλεσιν τοῦ ἔργου θά πέμψητε εἰς τὴν Μονήν καὶ τὴν γερόντισσαν Γιατράκου μετά τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῆς, αἵτινες πολιτεύονται ως μοναχαί, καὶ ηὐχήθημεν νά λάβῃ τὸ τέλος τό εἰρημένον.

γ') Έν τῇ ἐρειπιώδῃ ταύτῃ Μονῇ ὑπῆρχε ναός, τιμώμενος ἐπ' ὄνοματι τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Ζωοδόχου Πηγῆς. Τοῦτον τὸν ναόν ἐτοιμόροπον ὅντα καὶ μόλις δί' ἀντιρίδος βασταζόμενον, κατεδαφίσας τῇ συγκαταθέσει τοῦ κυρίου Δημάρχου, ώκοδόμησα ἐκ θεμελίων νέον ναόν, τιμηθέντα εἰς τό ὄνομα τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐνεκαινίασα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀδείᾳ, λαβών τό "Αγιον Μύρον παρά τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως καὶ συλλειτουργήσας μετά τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Υμετέρας Πανιερότητος καὶ τῶν Ἱερέων τῆς πόλεως, κληθέντων τῇ αιτήσει μου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Υ.Σ.

δ') Περί τῆς κουρᾶς τῶν κορῶν εἰς μοναχάς ἐρωτήσας τὴν Ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα ἔαν δι' ἑκάστην κουράν πρέπει νά ἐρωτώ καί λαμβάνω νέαν ἄδειαν, ή Ὑμετέρα Σεβασμιότης μοί ἀπήντησεν, νά μή ἐρωτώ. Περί τούτου καί πάλιν ἡρώτησα δι' ἐγγράφου τὴν Ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα, μαθών παρά τοῦ νῦν Ἀγίου Καλαβρύτων καί Αἰγιαλείας Κυρίου Τιμοθέου, ὅτι δυσαρεστεῖσθε, διότι προβαίνω εἰς κουρᾶς μοναχῶν, χωρίς νά σᾶς ἐρωτώ, οὐδεμίαν ἔλαβον ἀπάντησιν, ὅπερ ἐθεώρησα ως κατάφασιν σιωπηλήν.

ε ') Περὶ τῶν ὑποδιακονισσῶν γνωρίζω, ὅτι αὐταὶ κυρίως εἰναι νεωκόροι τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. 'Η περιβολή ἐγένετο κατά τόν τύπον τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν πόλεων περιβαλλομένων Ἱερά ἄμφια ἀναγνωστῶν. Τά ύπομάνικα ἐπετράπησαν διά τοὺς ἔχης λόγους. Ἐπειδὴ ἐν γυναικείῳ μονῇ δέν ὑπάρχουσι διάκονοι, ἐν δέ τῇ εἰρημένῃ οὕτε Ἱερεῖς, ἐγώ δέ οὕτε δύναμαι, νά φροντίζω περὶ τῆς καθαριότητος τοῦ ναοῦ, οὕτε πάντοτε νά διαμένω νεωκορῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, ἔχει δέ ἀπόλυτον ἀνάγκην τὸ Ἱερόν τεταγμένων προσώπων, ὅπως καθαρίζωσι τά Ἱερά σκευή, ἀλλάσσωσι τά καλύμματα καί τάς συνδόνας τῆς Αγίας Τραπέζης, μετακινώσι τό "Αγιον Ἀρτοφόριον καί ποιώσι πάσαν ἐργασίαν τοῦ νεωκόρου ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ, ἐθεώρησα, νά τάξω δύο, ἵνα ἐναλλάξ τελώσι τήν διακονίαν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. 'Ἐν ἀπολύτῳ ἀνάγκη μεταφέρωσι εἰς τάς ἀσθενούσσας βαρέως ἀδελφάς τήν Αγίαν Εὐχαριστίαν ἐντός μικροῦ Ποτηρίου διά τήν ἀνάγκην ταύτην κατασκευασθέντος· πλήν τῆς κατ' ἀνάγκην ἔξαιρέσεως ταύτης κατά τά λοιπά εἰσὶ νεωκόροι.

στ') Ή διαίτα τῶν ἀπότελουσῶν τὴν κοινότητα ταύτην γυναικῶν, περὶ ής ἐλάλησα πρός τήν Γ. Σ. είναι κοινοβιακή.

ζ') Ἡ γέσεια τῆς Μονῆς ἐδόθη ἄνευ ἱεροτελεστίας εἰς τήν πρώτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἀόμματον Χρυσάνθην Στρογγυλούν, νῦν δέ μοναχήν Ξένην, διά τήν σύνεσιν καὶ ἀρετῆν αὐτῆς· αὕτη διευθύνει τήν Μονήν καὶ δέχεται τούς λογισμούς τῆς ἀδελφότητος.

η') Τό διάστημα της αναπλούσιας περιόδου είναι τό τελείν τά ιερατικά καθήκοντα ἐν τῇ Μονῇ, δαπανῶν πρός συντήρησιν τῆς Μονῆς καὶ φροντίζειν πρός τελείωσιν αὐτῆς καὶ ὀδηγίαν αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ σκόπιμον καὶ λελογισμένον τέλος αὐτῆς." Ήδη, Σεβασμιώτατε, ἐλθόντες περὶ τό τέλος τῶν ἔργασιών, ἃς τῇ 'Ὑμετέρᾳ συγκαταθέσει ἀνελάθομεν, παραχωροῦμεν τὴν φροντίδα καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς σκέψιν τῇ 'Γ. Σ. πρός ἀνάδειξιν αὐτῆς, κατά τὸν εὐσεβῆ αὐτῆς πόθον, πρότυπον Μονῆς πρός τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν τῆς Θεοσώστου' Επαρχίας Γυμῶν.

προτούλων Μονής προς την καρδισάνη της ορεώσωσεν Σκλαβίτας Γραβ.

θ') Οι ιδέπων τα τῆς σωματικῆς καὶ πνευματικῆς ζωῆς κανονισμός, είναι λελογισμένη δύια τροφῆς διά την σωματικήν ζωήν, διά δέ την πνευματικήν ζωήν τό κοινοβιακόν πολίτευμα.

Περί τῶν καταθέσεων τῶν εἰσαγομένων χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ταμείον τῆς Μονῆς, ἡ ἡγουμένη, ἡ διευθύνουσα τὴν Μονήν, διετάχθη νά μοί δώσῃ λεπτουμερῷ κατάλογον τῶν εἰσπράξεων καὶ τῶν δαπανῶν, τόν ὁποῖον πέμπω.

Εὐπειθέστατος

+ 'Ο Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος"

in which he gave clear and straightforward answers to all the questions. Specifically, he mentioned that the convent was erected with the approval and consent of Metropolitan Theokletos from whose Metropolis Nectarios received the Holy Myrrh (Chrism) for the consecration of the convent church. Nectarios reminded Theokletos of his desire to send the elder Sister Yatrakos with her daughters to become new members of the community. He also tried to give a somewhat detailed account of the everyday life in the convent. He mentioned that the nuns wear sacred vestments [deacon's stole (*όράριον*) and cuffs (*έπιμανίκια*)] as subdeaconesses with the important duty of keeping the church clean, changing the altar cloths according to the seasons and, in cases of emergency, carrying the Holy Elements to the sisters of the convent who were unwell. He then mentioned that the spiritual leadership of the convent was given to the blind sister Xeni. His duty as the founder of the convent is strictly to speak and perform the church services and oversee the convent's spiritual and financial growth. The fasting and spiritual regulations were those approved by the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Together with the letter, Metropolitan Nectarios sent a report in which the first arrival of nuns, together with their names, origin and dates of admission into the convent are clearly mentioned, from Sister Xeni, the abbess of the convent.³⁷⁶ We have examined the position of the extracts of the letter from Nectarios, who was reported for ordaining subdeaconesses:

Concerning the subdeaconesses, I declare that these are certainly vergers of the sanctuary. The attire

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *ΌΑγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 146-148].

³⁷⁶ibid., pp. 149-153.

was of the type of those readers who wear sacred vestments in the churches of towns. The cuffs were permitted for the following reasons. Since deacons do not exist in a convent, nor priests, I cannot take care of the cleanliness of the church, neither can I act as a verger in the church. The sanctuary has absolute need of dedicated people to clean the sacred vessels, to change the covers of the holy altar, and move the tabernacle and do every work of the verger in the sanctuary. Therefore, I considered appointing two, to serve in the sanctuary. There is an absolute need to convey the Holy Eucharist in a small cup which was made for this purpose to the ill sisters otherwise they act simply as vergers.³⁷⁷

The Professor of the Theological School of Athens, Evangelos Theodorou, in his doctoral thesis, deals with the law about deaconesses. In a footnote of the epilogue of his dissertation, he refers to the attire and to the way the nuns of the Convent in Aegina were ordained to be subdeaconesses in Saint Nectarios' days and later. The importance of this subject obliges us to cite the quotation placed in the footnote :

In the Convent of the Holy Trinity in Aegina which was founded by the local Saint of Aegina, Saint Nectarios (1846-1920), Metropolitan of Pentapolis, there are nuns today - 'deaconesses,' sanctioned by the ever-memorable Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos of Athens, who wear the diaconal stole, censer, adorn the holy altar, read the texts from the Gospels in the absence of the ecclesiastical celebrant, and also give the presanctified gifts to the sick nuns. They have been sanctioned by a blessing which is read during the ordination of subdeaconesses, and not during the Divine Liturgy. However in the Monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos (Chrysoleontissa), today there is an abbess (Magdalene Moustakas), a very old and devout deaconess who when she was a nun of the Holy Trinity Convent, was 'ordained' by Saint Nectarios in 1911 in the Sacred Sanctuary on the day of Pentecost during the

³⁷⁷ibid., p. 147.

Divine Liturgy by placing of the hands and by the blessings which are said during the ordination of a deacon, calling-out, 'The Divine Grace ...'. The ordained nun wore sticharion not reaching her feet but just above her knees, and a diaconal stole, and diaconal cuffs. In this ministry in the Convent she succeeded another deaconess who had been sanctioned by Saint Nectarios. Since some people were scandalized through this 'ordination,' Saint Nectarios gave explanations to the then Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens, pointing out that the work of the women whom he sanctioned had a subdiaconal character and was necessary in the Convent during the absence of the ecclesiastical celebrants. It is obvious that this act of Saint Nectarios, was necessary, and essentially it was agreeable to the practice of long centuries of the Church. About all this we have been informed by the above blessed and devout abbess, and also by some 'deaconesses' of the Convent of the Holy Trinity in Aegina.³⁷⁸

378 Prof. Theodorou's quotation from his Thesis is the following :

"Εἰς τὴν ἐν Αἴγινη μονῆν τῆς 'Αγ. Τριάδος, ήτις ἴδρυθη ὑπό τοῦ – τοπικού ἐν Αἴγινη ἀγίου – Νεκταρίου (1846–1920), μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως, ὑπάρχουσι σήμερον μοναχαί – διακόνισσαι, καθιερωθεῖσαι ὑπό τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Ἀρχιεπ. Ἀθηνῶν Χρυσοστόμου Παπαδοπούλου, δυνάμεναι νά φέρωσι τό διακονικόν ὡράριον, νά θυμιούσι, νά κοσμιώσι τό ιερόν θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐν ἀπουσίᾳ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ λειτουργοῦ νά ἀναγινώσκωσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀκολουθίαις τάς εὐαγγελικάς περικοπάς καὶ νά μεταδίδωσι τά προηγιασμένα τίμια δῶρα εἰς τάς ἀσθενεῖς μοναχάς. Ἀλλ' ἂν αὔται καθιερώθησαν διά τῆς κατά τὴν χειροθεσίαν τῶν ὑποδιακόνων λεγομένης εὐχῆς καὶ οὐχὶ κατά τὴν ὥραν τῆς Θ. Λειτουργίας, ἐν τῇ ἐν Αἴγινη μονῇ τῆς Κοιμήσεως (Παναγίας Χρυσολεοντίσσης) είναι σήμερον ἡγούμενη μία προβεβηκυία τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ λίαν σεβαστή διακόνισσα, (Μαγδαληνή Μουστάκα) ἡν αὐτός ὁ ἄγιος Νεκτάριος τῷ 1911, ὅταν ἀκόμη αὔτη ἡτο μοναχή ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς 'Αγ. Τριάδος –, κατά τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἔχειροτόνησεν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ κατά τὴν ὥρα τῆς Θ. Λειτουργίας δι' ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν καὶ διά τῶν κατά τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ διακόνου λεγομένων εὐχῶν, ἐκφωνηθέντος τοῦ "Ἡ θεία χάρις". Ἡ χειροτονηθεῖσα ἔφερεν – οὐχὶ ποδήρες, ἀλλά μέχρι τῶν ὁσφύων σχεδόν αὐτῆς ἔξικνούμενον – στιχάριον, ὡς καὶ διακονικόν ὡράριον καὶ διακονικά ἐπιμάνικα. Αὕτη διεδέχθη εἰς τὴν παρά τῇ μονῇ διακονικήν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτέραν διακόνισσαν, ὡσαύτως ὑπό τοῦ ἄγ. Νεκταρίου καθιερωθεῖσαν. Ἐπειδή τότε τινές ἐσκανδαλίσθησαν ἐκ τῆς 'χειροτονίας' ταύτης, ὁ ἄγ. Νεκτάριος ἔδωκεν ἔξηγήσεις πρός τὸν τότε Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀθηνῶν Θεόκλητον, τονίσας, ὅτι ἡ ἐργασία τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθιερωθεισῶν εἶχε μάλλον ὑποδιακονικόν χαρακτήρα καὶ ἡτο ἀναγκαία ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ κατά τὴν ἀπουσίαν ἵδιως τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν λειτουργῶν. Ως είναι προφανές, ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἄγ. Νεκταρίου κρινομένη αὐτῇ καθ ἐαυτήν, κατ' οὐσίαν ἡτο σύμφωνος πρός τὴν μακραίωνα πράξιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Περί πάντων τούτων ἐλάβομεν πληροφορίας παρά τῆς ὁσιωτάτης καὶ σεβαστῆς ταύτης ἡγούμενης, ὡς καὶ ὑπό διακονισσῶν τινῶν τῆς ἐν Αἴγινη μονῆς τῆς 'Αγ. Τριάδος".

[E. Theodorou, 'Η "Χειροτονία" ή η "Χειροθεσία" τῶν Διακονισσῶν – Ἐναίσιμος ἐπί διδακτορίᾳ διατριβή ὑποβληθείσα εἰς τὴν Θεολογικήν Σχολήν τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ καὶ Καποδιστριακοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν (Athens, 1954) 95-96. Cf. also, I. Karmiris, 'Η θέσις καὶ διακονία τῶν γυναικῶν ἐν τῇ Ὁρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ (Athens, 1978) 50-51; C. Hall, *The*

The ever-memorable Nun Nectaria (known by her lay-name as Zenovia Lalaounis) lived her youthful years in Aegina close to Saint Nectarios. In interviewing her - we cite a quotation - she speaks about the way the Saint elected the nuns of his Convent for the purpose of laying hands on them as subdeaconesses :

When he (Saint Nectarios) went out for the Lesser and Great Entrance he had two nuns as subdeacons who wore the stole crossed. When he would lay hands on some of them as subdeaconesses, he prayed to God to reveal who were worthy for this purpose. He asked God to give him a 'sign' indicating which were worthy to undertake this ministry. He 'saw' one or two nuns in the Church 'wearing' the stole, although he had not given it to them. He immediately called them and he invested them with the stole.³⁷⁹

Saint Nectarios laid hands on the heads of only two nuns as subdeaconesses in his Convent; Elizabeth Rokas and Magdalene Moustakas. Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos of Athens, accepting this act of Metropolitan Nectarios, went on a few years after the Saint's dormition, to lay hands twice on the heads of other nuns of the Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina, as subdeaconesses. The first time, he laid hands on the heads of nuns Christophora, Kyriake,

Deacon's Ministry (Herefordshire, G. Britain, 1991) 154; *Deacons in the Ministry of the Church - A Report to the House of Bishops of the General Synod of the Church of England* (London, 1988) 25].

³⁷⁹Nun Nectaria's witness is the following :

"Οταν (ό "Αγιος Νεκτάριος) ἔβγαινε στή Μίκρη καί τή Μεγάλη Εἴσοδο, είχε μαζί του δύο Μοναχές ύποδιακόνισσες πού φορούσαν σταυρωτά τό όραριο." Οταν ἐπρόκειτο νά χειροθετήσει ύποδιακόνισσες, προσηύχετο νά τού ἀποκαλύψει ὁ Θεός ποιές ήσαν ἄξιες γιά το σκοπό αὐτό. Ζητούσε ἀπό τό Θεό νά τού δώσει σημεῖο γιά τό ποιές ήσαν ἄξιες ν' ἀναλάβουν τό διακόνημα αὐτό. "Ἐβλεπε ἔτσι μιά-δύο Μοναχές στήν Ἐκκλησία νά φοροῦν τό όραριο, χωρίς φυσικά νά τούς τό ἔχει δώσει ἐκείνος. Τίς φώναζε ἀμέσως καί τούς φορούσε τό όραριο."

[M. Melinos, *μίλησα μέ τόν "Άγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν* (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 252, 254].

Evnike and Paraskeve, and the second time, the nuns Ephrosyne, Theoktiste and Charitine.³⁸⁰

Three years passed, and the official recognition of the convent by the church authorities was held in abeyance. Metropolitan Theokletos gave no answer to Nectarios' letter and Abbess Xeni's report. His only reaction was to send a clerical inquisitor each year to the convent in order to interrogate the elderly bishop.³⁸¹

In the year 1917 Eleftherios Venizelos, a pro-republican premier from the island of Crete, opposed King Constantine 1st's policy of neutrality in World War I. The country once again entered a period of political disharmony in which the Church was also entangled. The pro-royalist Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens excommunicated the Cretan politician; but when the latter was restored and sworn-in as prime minister on 14/27 June 1917, Theokletos was compelled to abdicate from the Archdiocesan Throne of Athens. Metropolitan Meletios Metaxakis succeeded him.³⁸² It was then that the Metropolitan of Pentapolis submitted a new petition to the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece for his convent in Aegina to be recognized.³⁸³ This latest petition was submitted with several copies of former applications addressed to Metropolitan Theokletos. Nectarios had also written a letter to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education. In it he offered

³⁸⁰Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 147-148.

³⁸¹ibid., p. 90. Cf. Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 134.

³⁸²Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 134.

³⁸³Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 155-157; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 154-155.

a report in which he wrote a brief history of events. In the report, the following was said:

..... It is for this purpose that I am proposing that a preparatory, practical, religious school be established.... A school in which female students will be taught ethics and religion, the various handiworks which can help them earn a living, and home economics. If the Lord blesses our work, I hope that this preparatory school can one day also become a school of higher education. Then, Greek mothers will learn about their national and religious heritage, and can then pass on that knowledge to their children.³⁸⁴

In his report to the Ministry, Nectarios had indicated his sincere intention to establish a practical preliminary moral and religious institution in which female students would be taught several bread-winning skills and domestic economy. Unfortunately, not one of these petitions from Metropolitan Nectarios was given an official reply. The new Metropolitan of Athens, Metaxakis, following the policy of his predecessor, did not favor³⁸⁵ Nectarios' stay at the convent. It is well-known that the primate of the Greek Church once visited the convent in Aegina. His negative attitude during the period of his stay on the island, and his disapproval of all the work which he saw being done at the convent of Holy Trinity, caused sorrow to Nectarios.³⁸⁵ It was obvious that in the case of

³⁸⁴In his petition of Nectarios to the Ministry of Religious Affairs was written:

"Πρός τόν αύτόν σκοπόν προτιθέμεθα, νά ιδρύσωμεν προκαταρκτικήν ήθικοθρησκευτικήν Σχολήν, ἐν ḥ τά κοράσια άφοιτάντα ἐν αύτῇ μορφοῦνται ήθικῶς καὶ θρησκευτικῶς, ἐκδιδάσκονται διάφορα βιοποριστικά χειροτεχνήματα καὶ τήν οἰκιακήν οἰκονομίαν.' Εάν ό Θεός εὐλογήσῃ τό ἔργον ἡμῶν, προτιθέμεθα ἡ προκαταρκτική αύτη πρακτική Σχολή, ν' ἀποβῇ Σχολή καὶ ἀνωτέρας διδασκαλίας πρός μόρφωσιν Ἑλληνίδων μητέρων μετά ἑθνικοῦ καὶ θρησκευτικοῦ ζήλου, ἵνα τόν ἐαυτόν ἑθνικόν καὶ θρησκευτικόν μεταδίδωσιν εἰς τά ἐαυτῶν τέκνα."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 156].

³⁸⁵ibid., pp. 90, 313-314. Cf. also, M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο - Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 305-306.

the Greek Orthodox Hierarchy's official recognition and approval of the convent, there had been an unjustifiable delay. Apparently, the hierarch of the Greek Church had been informed of the great spiritual work that had been taking place on the island of Aegina, as well as of the simplicity, growing fame and esteemed reputation of the convent's founder.

Since the beginning of the residence of the Metropolitan Nectarios in his convent in 1908, the original number of nuns had already increased by thirty new-comers. Of the registered nuns, two had died before 1920. In the year of Nectarios' death, there were thirty-eight nuns serving at the convent, sixteen of whom were consecrated to the great schema.³⁸⁶

Nectarios's desire to see his monastic community being officially recognized during his life time by the Greek Orthodox Church, was never fulfilled. Four years after the death of Nectarios, when the Professor of Athens University, Chrysostom Papadopoulos became Archbishop of Athens, he brought the delay of the convent's official recognition to an end. Archbishop Chrysostom as the successor of the Venerable Nectarios in administrating the Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary, had a deep esteem for the work and personality of his predecessor. In his letter dated 15th May 1924 "To the sisters of the Holy Convent of the Holy Trinity, in Aegina,"³⁸⁷ the Archbishop officially announced the recognition of the convent as one of the functionary Lavra of the Church of Greece and made it subordinate to approved monastic

³⁸⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 88-90, 151, 323. Cf. also, T. Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (London, 1987) 149; A. Karabetsou, *Τρεῖς ἀγίες τοῦ αἰώνα μας* (Piraeus, 1986) 28.

³⁸⁷Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 161; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 136-137.

laws and regulations. The recognition was declared by a Royal Decree dated 31 March 1924.³⁸⁸

2. Nectarios' Activity in Aegina

1) His Work in Erecting the Convent

When the greater part of the renovations of the convent had been completed, together with the completion of the church, it began to function as a regular monastic community. Metropolitan Nectarios decided to resign from the administration of Rizareios, and assumed spiritual and pastoral responsibility over the convent. His first act was to rename the church of Zoodochos Pege as the church of the Holy Trinity. He then established the terms of monastic settlement and entrusted the nuns with various tasks and services.³⁸⁹

Nectarios decided at the age of 62 to resign from the world and to lead a life of severe self-discipline in the somewhat isolated and rubble strewn island of Aegina. His convent was built on the site of a ruined monastery, and the nuns who formed the new community were semiliterate or illiterate women. Although Nectarios' desire had been to lead a monastic life with the Brothers and the Abbot Sophronios in the island of Skopelos, ultimately he went to Aegina.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁸ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 162.

³⁸⁹ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 88, 263-264, 278-279, 359; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 111, 113-114.

³⁹⁰ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μονάχάς Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αίγινης (Athens, 1984) No. 124 (37) of 21st December 1907, p. 240.

Nectarios abandoned all the honors ascribed to him in order to place himself in the midst of simple everyday tasks and tiring chores.... All these were part of a scheme which the Bishop had arranged for himself; to direct and enliven the simple souls of the novices to reach the summit of monastic perfection. Nectarios managed to combine Orthodox Christian spirituality with manual labor by involving himself in the hard work of the erection of the convent's construction. Through these means he was setting a humble example for the nuns to imitate.

During the time that building was being erected, the venerable Bishop not only directed the operations, but personally involved himself in the process of construction. He did many of the heavy manual tasks, such as cultivating the gardens and fields, irrigating them by carrying water on his shoulders from distant places, digging furrows and sewers for disposal, and carrying heavy stones to build the cells of the convent, thus setting a humble example to the surprised nuns.³⁹¹

There are still some living witnesses who are able to testify that they saw Nectarios wearing his black robe with a straw hat on his head, digging with a hoe and shovel under the hot summer sun and wheeling a barrow filled with stones and soil to distant places. In this way he assisted the builders, and at the same time took the many opportunities to speak to them about Christ, advising them about spiritual matters as an experienced spiritual director. This

³⁹¹ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 263–264. Cf. also, M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 άνθρωπους πού τόν γνώρισαν" (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 172; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 84, 90, 92, 116. In a letter of 5 July 1905 which Metropolitan Nectarios addressed to his spiritual son, Constantine Sakkopoulos, he characteristically reports what follows: "By the Divine Grace I am well; I am creating the lodge of the Convent, after one month it will be completed as I hope" [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)' (Athens, 1985) 180]. The Saint, in this case using the verb "κτίζω" (I construct) to be understood literally.

example of humility, unusual for a bishop, was imitated by the children of Aegina who willingly cleared little stones and pebbles from the paths to the convent. The Bishop, praising them for their voluntary and valuable help, often offered them food and sweets. By submitting his body to physical exhaustion, Nectarios managed, on the one hand, to assist in the completion of the convent, and on the other, to engraff the virtue of labor and humility in the hearts of both the children and adults. One more task which the prelate was to undertake in the convent of Aegina was that of shoe-maker. Some of the older nuns and other elderly people in Aegina remember the Bishop, in his leather apron, making slippers for all the members of the monastic community. He also taught the nuns, Xeni Koudas, Ephrosyne and Elizabeth Rokas and Kypriani and Thekla Aliphrangis the art of making shoes in order to fulfill the needs of the Sisterhood.³⁹²

2) His Beneficial Deeds in Aegina

The interest of Nectarios was not limited to the erection of his monastery and its moral and material support, but included the whole island of Aegina. Specifically during the years 1906-1907, the Bishop took care of the embellishment of the grounds surrounding his convent by planting trees. At the same time, he sent a donation from his own expenses of more than seven thousand trees, mulberries, and fruit-bearing trees to the county of Aegina to give to the citizens of the island.³⁹³

³⁹² M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν" (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 26, 90, 134, 156, 188, 210; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 152.

³⁹³ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)" (Athens, 1985) 69. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης' (Athens,

The hierarch's love did not stop there. His fame spread among the poor people as a result of his almsgiving. He established daily meals in his convent for its workers, for the students of the convent's "school," and for the visitors who happened to be there at lunch-time. The guest' quarters of the monastery offered hospitality to many people, whose service had been undertaken by the nuns Akakia and Makaria. Other nuns looked after the destitute widows and orphans of Aegina, and distributed money and food.³⁹⁴

The Saint involved the poor of Aegina in the convent's work with the pretext of employment, and in that way helped them financially. Sometimes he recommended them as workers to his friends. The gifts which he received he divided amongst all the poor. When a poor man came to the convent, he equipped him with all the necessities, and so often he stinted the Sisterhood of their daily bread.³⁹⁵

The assistance which Nectarios extended was not only of a financial nature, but also spiritual. His fatherly words were full of affection, clemency, love and sympathy for every human weakness. He taught them mostly by his example, and less by his words. When he preached to the people, his words were very simple because he knew that he was addressing the semiliterate. His sermons were the pouring-out of his own experience. The people found in him comfort and consolation.³⁹⁶

1984), Letter No. 50 of 11th. February 1906, p. 96; Letter No. 97 of 27 February 1907, pp. 23, 127, 189, 190.

³⁹⁴M. Melinos, *μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν* (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 173; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 38-39.

³⁹⁵ibid., (Vol. 1) 62, 143, 149-150, 173-174; (Vol. 2) 33-34, 36, 38, 90, 92. Cf. Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 108.

³⁹⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)* (Athens, 1985) 229, 299; M. Melinos, *μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν* (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 33, 170.

3) Nectarios as a Mystic of Christ

Metropolitan Nectarios' first concern was mental prayer, which he called "the soul of our souls." He taught his nuns to make the first composkoini, (e.g. the prayers offered with the use of a prayer-rope), to the Holy Trinity, and those following to Christ, the Theotokos and the Saints of the Church.³⁹⁷ According to the nuns of Holy Trinity and to the convent's visitors, again and again during his conversations the Bishop was absorbed in silent prayer. The continuous work of lavapedium, the analytical care of the inner world of the soul, was the foundation of Nectarios' life beginning with his youth. Once, when he was praying, and a nun opened the door of his cell, she claimed to see him in ecstasy, with hands raised, with his gaze fixed towards Heaven and a flame of fire surrounding him.³⁹⁸ The divine transformation which Nectarios underwent from his present earthly life, was perceptible to those around him, because of his virtuous life, "an excellent sweetness radiated from his peaceful face, which showed a sacredness of sanctification in the grace of the Holy Spirit."³⁹⁹

Nectarios established great variety in the liturgical life of his convent. He served the rites according to the Byzantine Typikon daily, as a simple curate, when the priest in charge was absent. When the hierarch entered the sanctuary to officiate, he fell on his knees before the crucifix and embraced the Honorable Cross with

397 M. Melinos, *μίλησα μέ τόν "Άγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν* (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 85; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 169, 312.

398 Protopresb. S. Sarantos, "Η πλούσια προσφορά τοῦ Ἅγιου Νεκταρίου στήν Ἔκκλησίᾳ καὶ στήν Πολιτείᾳ," *Κοινωνία* (Athens) 32 (April/June, 1989) 173, 182.

399 Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστον Πατρός ἡμῶν καὶ Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 16.

his arms, praying with speechless groans and raining his tears on the wood of the Cross.⁴⁰⁰ The deep devotion of Nectarios towards the divine things was expressed when he celebrated. The faithful felt awe when they faced him before the Royal Doors. When he emerged at the "Great Entrance" holding "the Holy Gifts," he seemed not to be standing on the ground. Many sick people prostrated themselves as he passed them and were healed.⁴⁰¹

Those who were acquainted with the humble ascetic of Aegina admired his endurance during the long services, which he performed for the Sisterhood of his convent. The devotion of Nectarios during public divine worship, his ceaseless prayer, his interest in the spiritual cultivation and development of the nuns, his sermons and preaching, showed him as model Mystic and established him as such in the minds of believing Christians.

4) The Miracle-working Bishop

Nectarios' prayer was heard by God, Who endowed him with the fulness of charisms, such as that of miracle-working. His fame as a holy father circulated from one distant island to another, and clergy and people from Athens and Piraeus who took refuge in his convent, asking his intercessions. The Bishop's invocation of the divine mercy was sufficient and the help came from above immediately. The petitions of the Christians were therefore fulfilled, the unbelieving and haters of the Christian faith completely changed through his wise sermons and counsels to

⁴⁰⁰Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 267, 278-279; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 210; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 169, 33.

⁴⁰¹M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 207, 252; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 170.

preachers; slanderers and accusers were disarmed, misers generously gave to the poor.⁴⁰² Nectarios happened to pray during a drought and the heavens opened and rain poured down on parched Aegina.⁴⁰³ These miracles were testified to by many eyewitnesses, and indeed by trustworthy and distinguished people, who were noted for their higher learning, morality and position in society. The scriptural saying became fulfilled in his person, "Signs will accompany those who believe; they will cast out demons in my Name; they will speak in new languages; they will pick-up snakes; and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick and they will recover."⁴⁰⁴

5) The Suffering of the Bishop

Metropolitan Nectarios endured a long course of distress and persecutions. The difficult circumstances which he met he faced with great fortitude, patience and bravery of soul, never questioning his faith. The last great trial of the bishop happened in his convent in Aegina in 1919. The events are as follows: A mentally ill woman from Siphnos, called Koudas, lived with her small daughter, Maria, in the port of Aegina. The woman had been seized by a persecution mania towards her daughter. She treated her daughter roughly, hit and sometimes tried to kill her. When

⁴⁰² Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 88-89, 113, 268, 360-361. Cf. also, Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστου Πατρός ἡμῶν καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 18-19; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τὸν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο - Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τὸν γνώρισαν" (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 27, 136, 248, 266; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 24, 116, 276, 299, 305; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος ό Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 122.

⁴⁰³ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 88, 361.

⁴⁰⁴ Mark 16: 17-18.

Maria became sixteen years old, her mother decided to marry her to an Aeginan green-grocer named George Mourtzinos. The young girl, rebelling against the pressure of her mother, left in secret from her house and asked for shelter from Nectarios.⁴⁰⁵ The Bishop, wishing to protect the distressed girl, reported this incident to the Metropolitan of Athens, and by his consent kept the girl in the convent, entrusting her care to the nuns Xeni and Akakia.⁴⁰⁶

When Koudas learned that her daughter was in the convent of the Saint, she hastily went to Piraeus and presented herself to the examining magistrate, accusing the Bishop of immoral behavior with her daughter. Her persuasive words influenced the magistrate who took her deposition and the next day, in the company of two policemen, went to Aegina to the Bishop's convent and with rude behavior, overstepped the bounds of his authority, subjecting all the convent to audacious investigations.⁴⁰⁷ In spite of the unbecoming gestures and abusive language which Nectarios suffered, he did not pronounce a word as an explanation but had his eyes directed to heaven and prayed.⁴⁰⁸

At the end of this inquisition, the young Maria Koudas was called by the judge's court, and was examined by Nicholas Alex. Petsalis, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology in the University

⁴⁰⁵H. Smith, "Greeks overlook Saint's minor defets," *The Guardian* (London, Tuesday, Nov. 13, 1990) 7. Cf. also, S. Kementzentidis, ὁ Γέρων Φιλόθεος Ζερβάκος ('Ο ουρανοδρόμος ὁ δόδοι πόρος) 1884–1980, Αὐτοβιογραφία – Περιστασιακά ὄμιλίαι – Συγγραφικά Πονήματα – Ἐξωθεν καλή μαρτυρία – Θαυμαστά γεγονότα – Πνευματικά ύποθήκαι – Πίναξ φωτογραφιῶν (Vol. 1) (Thessaloniki: Ὁρθόδοξος Κυψέλη, 1980) 391; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τὸν Ἀγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τὸν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 34, 86, 156, 258; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 313.

⁴⁰⁶Metr. T. Matthaiakis, Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920). (Athens, 1985) 229.

⁴⁰⁷ibid., p. 230. Cf. also, M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τὸν Ἀγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τὸν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 126, 258.

⁴⁰⁸Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ὁρθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 143.

of Athens, and was found to be a virgin and untouched.⁴⁰⁹ Maria returned after eight days to the convent in Aegina where she became a nun, by permission of Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos of Athens, after the dormition of Metropolitan Nectarios, and was renamed Xeni.⁴¹⁰ Her mother however was sent into exile by the examining magistrate, to the islands of Siphnos and Syra.⁴¹¹

3. His Illness and Dormition

Nectarios passed through the seventy-third year of his material life much affected by the painful illness which he endured with exemplary fortitude and faith. The Father, enduring the unbearable pains of chronic illness made his last pilgrimage to the then male Monastery of the Theotokos of Chrysoleontissa (Golden Lioness). This was at least one hour's journey by foot from the convent. Specifically, after the Divine Liturgy of 20 August 1920, Nectarios went over Chrysoleontissa, through an almost impassable road. He remained there for a fortnight, praying on his knees every day before the miraculous icon of the Theotokos for the improvement of his health.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹The opinion of the distinguished gynaecologist of that time, Prof. N. Petsalis, concerning Maria Koudas' virginal and slander is preserved in a record of the Holy Trinity Convent, and state silenced all who undertook to blemish Metropolitan Nectarios [Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 231].

⁴¹⁰M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 100.

⁴¹¹M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 102, 178.

⁴¹²Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 345. Cf. also, J. Tsatsaronakis, "Ο νέος μυροβλύτης – 'Η Αἴγινα πανηγυρίζει αὔριον τόν προστάτην της 'Αγιον Νεκτάριον – 'Ο σοφός Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως καί Διευθυντής τῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς – Τό ιερό σκήνωμα πού εύωδιάζει," *Βραδυνή* (Athens) (8th. November 1955) 3; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'ΟΆγιος Νεκτάριος Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Όρθοδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 144-145.

Two months before leaving this world, exhausted from his illness, Nectarios departed for Athens with a company of the nuns Efthymia, Athanasia and Evnike and was admitted to Aretaieion Hospital immediately as a simple cleric. The state of his health, however, did not improve, but deteriorated daily. Preserving his sense until the end, the poor Bishop who was lying in a bed of the third category of the Aretaieion, Metropolitan Nectarios of Pentapolis, gave up his spirit to God in the night of the 8th of November 1920, at 10.30 p.m. at the age of 74 years.⁴¹³

The evidence of intimate relations' biographies of Saint Nectarios and recourse to contemporary medical bibliography, shows the acidic renal condition - anuria, as the most likely cause of the Saint's death. Such agrees with the witness of the Saint's nephew, Anastasios Ch. Kephalas, that swellings appeared on the Saint's body towards the end of his life (swellings on the upper and lower limbs, boils, a swollen face), symptomatic of a renal condition.⁴¹⁴

In the morning of 9th November 1920, the body of the late hierarch was transferred via the avenue Syngrou to Piraeus and was placed in the narthex of Holy Trinity church, where it remained for many hours until the arrival of a steamship "Pterote" by which it was transported to Aegina.⁴¹⁵ We have to mark the following at

⁴¹³ Archim. D. Aerakis, *Κλήματα τῆς Ἀμπέλου* (Athens, 1989) 146. Cf. J. Tsatsaronakis, "Ο νέος μυροβλύτης – Ή Αἴγινα πανηγυρίζει αύριον τὸν προστάτην τῆς Ἀγίου Νεκτάριον – Ο σοφός Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως καὶ Διευθυντής τῆς Ριζαρέιου Σχολῆς – Τό ιερό σκήνωμα πού εύωδιάζει," *Βραδυνή* (Athens) (8th. November 1955) 3-4; Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Οσίοις ἀειμνήστου Πατρός ήμῶν καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 17.

⁴¹⁴ "Bladder-complaints," in *The Medical Clinics of America* (January 1983) 255. Cf. also, A. E. Read - D. W. Barrit - R. Langton Hewer, *Contemporary Pathology* (U.S.A., Undated) 261. The pharmacist George Koutras, the pathologists Dr. Malvina Daoukou and Dr. Helen Papaconstantinou courteously provided this information.

⁴¹⁵ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Ο Αγιος Νεκταριος Κεφαλας Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 93, 280.

this point: the ever-memorable Chrysostom Papadopoulos, then the Dean of Rizareios, wanted to honor the late hierarch and former dean of the Seminary through the acts of the Administrative Council and of the Committee of the teachers of the Seminary. They wanted to chant a funeral service in the Seminary chapel and to bury him in its yard.⁴¹⁶ Ultimately, the desire of the Sisterhood was fulfilled, so that his relics were buried in the place where he had spent the last years of his life.

The body was accompanied by many clerics, students of Rizareios and devout people of Athens and Piraeus. When the steamship arrived in the port of Aegina, the citizens of the island welcomed their benefactor and spiritual father with pain and affliction of soul. They were eager to transfer the corpse on foot taking turns in stages on the journey. So a great cortege arrived at the convent of the Holy Trinity very late in the night where the Sisterhood received the coffin and put it in the chapel. A great number of people flocked to the chapel and the yard. In the same night the funeral service for a clergyman was chanted. Since the preparation of the grave was delayed, the usual funeral service was chanted at 4 p.m. on 10th November, and the corpse was buried forty-eight hours after Nectarios' death, in the place which he had indicated.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ibid., p. 280.

⁴¹⁷M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν" (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 36, 111, 190, 259; (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 130, 160.

4. The Writings of this Period

1) Triadikon

In 1909, Metropolitan Nectarios published his second religious poetic work, the *Triadikon*, *That is Odes and Hymns to the Trinitarian God*. The hymns of worship which are included in this book express admiration for the works of the Creator and glorify the Divine Wisdom of God, His kindness and omnipotence. The Trinitarian Hymns, chanted according to the canons of Byzantine music were published by the Bishop in order to satisfy "the religious emotion of devout Orthodox Christians who desired to worship the Trinitarian God with Hymns and spiritual odes.⁴¹⁸

2) Kekragarion

Continuing the writing of poetic works, the hymnographer Nectarios published the *Kekragarion of the Divine and Sacred Augustine Bishop of Hippo*, in two volumes in 1910. Nectarios used the rhythm of the translation of Evgenios Voulgaris. This book does not have the form of a liturgical book, because its contents cannot be chanted, but only read for intellectual and spiritual uplift. At the end of the second book, Nectarios cited a personal poetic creation which was entitled *A Hymn to Divine Love*, and consisted of five verses dedicated to the second person of the Holy Trinity, Jesus Christ.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸Metr. N. Kephalas, *Τριαδικόν ἡτοι Ὡδαί καὶ Ὅμνοι πρός τὸν ἐν Τριάδι Θεόν* (Athens, 1909) 3-4. Cf. also, G. Papamichael, "Βιβλιοκρισία," *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* (Alexandria) 5 (1910) 281; C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 64.

⁴¹⁹Metr. N. Kephalas, *Κεκραγάριον τοῦ Θείου καὶ Ἱεροῦ Αὐγουστίνου Ἐπισκόπου Ἰππώνος ἐνταθέν εἰς μέτρα κατά τὴν τονικήν βάσιν, ἐκ τῆς μεταφράσεως τοῦ Εὐγενίου Βουλγάρεως* (Athens, 1910) 262; C. Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints - St. Nectarios of Aegina* (Massachusetts, 1981) 64-65.

3) On the Causes of the Schism

A large two volume work with the title, *Historical Study on the Causes of Schism; On its Perpetuation and on the Possibility or Impossibility of Unity of the Two Churches, Eastern and Western* was published by Nectarios in the years 1911 and 1912. In the introduction to the first volume, the hierarch states :

Our work can be named the history of schism, because it has been written with historical accuracy and impartiality. We wrote this study in 1895 and it consists of two volumes, starting from the foundation of the two Churches. We examine their historical development, the administrative constitution of each, the relationship, the arguments, the diversities, the controversies between themselves, the schisms and their causes. We judge the causes and we express our opinion as a deduction from what we have already stated, and we conclude with the events which took place after the Synod of Florence, ending with the fall of Constantinople.⁴²⁰

Monk Panaretos of Kafsokalyvia, Mount Athos, took care of publishing the first volume. Most of the material had been published from time to time beginning in 1895 in the journals of Athens. The second volume of the study was published in 1912 by

⁴²⁰In the introduction the author states :

"Τό ἔργον ἡμῶν δύναται νά κληθῆ 'ιστορία τοῦ Σχίσματος, διόπι συνεγράφη ἐπί τῇ βάσει τῶν ιστορικῶν γεγονότων μετά τῆς ιστορικῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ ἀμεροληψίας.

Τήν Μελέτην ταύτην συνεγράψαμεν κατά τό 1895, συγκροτεῖται δέ ἐκ δύο τόμων. Αρχόμεθα ἀπό τίς θεμελιώσεις τῶν δύο 'Εκκλησιῶν.' Εξετάζομεν τήν ιστορικήν ἀνάπτυξιν αὐτῶν, τό διοικητικόν πολίτευμα ἐκατέρας, τάς σχέσεις, τάς συμφωνίας, τάς διαφωνίας, τάς πρός ἀλλήλας ἔριδας, τά σχίσματα καὶ τά αἴτια αὐτῶν· κρίνομεν τά αἴτια καὶ ἀποφανόμεθα γνώμην ὡς πόρισμα ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ καταλήγομεν εἰς τά γεγονότα, τά μετά τήν ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ γενομένην σύνοδον, εἰς ἀ τίθησι τέρμα ἡ ἄλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως."

[Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μελέτη ιστορική περί τῶν αἰτιῶν τοῦ Σχίσματος, περί τῆς διαιωνίσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ περί τοῦ δυνατοῦ ἡ ἀδυνάτου τῆς Ενώσεως τῶν δύο Εκκλησιῶν τῆς Ανατολικῆς καὶ τῆς Δυτικῆς* (Vol. 1) (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1911), (Vol. 2) (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1911)

4. Cf. also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," *Έκκλησιασπικός Φάρος* (Alexandria) 9 (1912) 66-67;

15 (1916) 386-387].

Nectarios himself, along with the support of about two hundred friends who were subscribers. Nectarios was motivated to write this study because of the papal encyclicals in which the Popes of the Old Rome call upon the Eastern Church to acknowledge the primacy of the Pope and to unite with Rome by submitting totally in the sense that the primacy of the Apostle Peter is a matter of divine right both in nature and substance. In searching for the historical truth, Nectarios used historical sources with thoroughness. He examined the rights of the differing Churches, and then expressed his opinion regarding the feasibility or unfeasibility of unity, saying that the arrogant and unjust expressions of the defenders of papal supremacy were the cause of the great Schism of the Eastern Church.

4) Two Studies on Church and Tradition

One study of an ecclesiastical character of this period which was published in 1913 in Athens bears the title *Two Studies: I, On the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church: II, On the Sacred Tradition.* It was written by Metropolitan Nectarios as an apology against those who deny the sacred oral tradition of the Church of Christ. His support of these ideas consists of historical evidence and logical arguments.⁴²¹

5) On the Honorable Cross

After a petition from Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens, Metropolitan Nectarios published, in the ecclesiastical periodical

⁴²¹ibid., (Vol. 1) 3-4.

"Hieros Syndesmos," *A Study on the Lord's Cross, about the Refutation of False Opinions and Beliefs of Men who Have Erroneous Opinions and Total Ignorance of the Historical Appearance of the Honorable Cross.*⁴²² The same study, when the author completed it with revisions, was published in 1914,⁴²³ with the title *Historical Study on the Honorable Cross*. Its aim was to make known to the members of the Church the historical truth concerning the first appearance of the Honorable Cross, its discovery, its veneration as the salvific tool in the saving dispensation of mankind.⁴²⁴ The study is replete with quotations from the Holy Scriptures, the Canons of the Ecumenical Synods, and the writings of the Church Fathers.

6) On the Divine Sacraments

Metropolitan Nectarios published onether of his works with the title *Studies on the Divine Sacraments* in 1915. The author divided his text into eight parts. The first part gives the definition of the sacraments, their characteristics, and provides a number of quotations from the Holy Scriptures, arguing that these have been instituted by Jesus Christ Himself. In the remaining seven parts he refers to the sacraments of Baptism, Chrismation, Divine Eucharist, the duties of the clergymen towards the Holy Altar, repentance and confession, the sacred ministry, marriage and the anointing with oil.⁴²⁵

⁴²²Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μελέται δύο. Α' Περί τῆς Μιᾶς, Ἀγίας, Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας. Β' Περί τῆς Ἱερᾶς Παραδόσεως* (Athens, 1913) 4. Cf. also, Archim. A. Fondier, "Saint Nectaire d' Egine," *Messager Orthodoxe* (France) 67 [91] (1982) 19-25.

⁴²³Metr. N. Kephalas, *Ιστορική μελέτη περί τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ* (Athens, 1914) 2.

⁴²⁴ibid., p. 2.

⁴²⁵Metr. N. Kephalas, *Μελέται περί τῶν Θείων Μυστηρίων* (Athens, 1915) 1.

7) On the Church

Nectarios' final study with the title *On the Church* was published in the "Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Commemorative Book of Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary" in the year 1920.⁴²⁶ It is divided into twelve small units. The author, taking his theme from the quotation "Woman believe me the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father,"⁴²⁷ presents the Church of Christ as the pre-eminent place in which it is necessary to offer "worship in spirit and truth" to God, because as the author says, the Church is the Body of Christ founded by Christ Himself, and remains into the ages, perpetuating His redemptive work.

8) Correspondence

Nectarios gradually became involved in extensive correspondence with clerics, theologians, and religious scholars of other faiths outside Greece, concerning the topic of "true belief" and how the members of each faith thought that theirs encompassed it. Nectarios also engaged in correspondence with the heterodox Christians; Roman Catholics, Old Catholics and Anglicans by sending complimentary copies of his writings to them. In this way he hoped to strengthen their ties with the Eastern Orthodox Church. A product of this period is the correspondence which was exchanged between him and the Brotherhood of the Monastery of Grottaferrata in

⁴²⁶Metr. N. Kephalas, "Μελέτη περί Ἑκκλησίας," Ἐβδομηκονταπενταετηρίς τῆς Ριζαρέίου Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Σχολῆς 1844-1919 (Athens: Πανηγυρικός Τόμος ἐκδοθείς ὑπό τοῦ Καθηγητικοῦ Συλλόγου τῆς Σχολῆς ἐπί τῇ ἑβδομηκονταπενταετηρίδι αὐτῆς, 1920) 334-349. Cf. also, Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως" 1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 194-196, 241.

⁴²⁷John 4: 19-21.

Rome, Italy.⁴²⁸ Nectarios addressed his letters to Grottaferrata developing the dogmatic truths of the faith with the same objectivity and precision as mentioned in previous correspondence, avoiding any sign of fanaticism or antipathy, making use of historic sources. Since a spirit of thoughtfulness and love characterized these letters, Nectarios was honored by them all.

⁴²⁸G. Crose, *La Badia Greca di Grottaferrata a la Rivista "Roma e L' Oriente"* (Vatican, 1990) 521-523, 584-586, 761-762. Cf. also, Fr. A. Palmieri, "L' apologia del Cristianesimo e Mg. Nettario Kefalas," *Bessarione* (Roma) 6 (1902) 246; 7 (1902) 105; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως(1846-1920)" (Athens, 1985) 82-85; Deacon C. Strongylis, "Ανέκδοτη αλληλογραφία Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως και Ι. Μονής Κρυπτοφέρρης Ρώμης," *Orthodox Herald* (London) 42/43 (March/April 1992) 23-24; 44/45 (May/June 1992) 23-24.

PART SIX: THE SAINT (1920-1961)

1. Nectarios' Will

At the public meeting of the preliminary court in Piraeus the handwritten will of Metropolitan Nectarios D. Kephalas of Pentapolis (record file number 51/1920) was promulgated on November 1920. It had been originally written at his Convent in Aegina on the 2nd of January 1920. From this date, the Convent of the Holy Trinity of Aegina became a legal foundation, and was recognized as independent and self-governing, under spiritual authority of the local hierarch on every occasion.⁴²⁹

The testator Metropolitan Nectarios left all his movable and immovable property to the sisterhood of the Monastery in Aegina. Included in his property were his house in Phreatis Avenue, in Piraeus, the church, the cells and the other rooms of the monastery; at "Xantos" place in Aegina, his library, his published writings and his unpublished manuscripts, the valuable hierachal vestments and the sacred vessels. Each of his personal items was conveyed by inheritance not only to the living nuns, but also to those who would dedicate themselves to the service of God with the tonsure.⁴³⁰

Nectarios entrusted the spiritual supervision and the laying-on of the hands of the nuns, to the local bishop. He entrusted the duty of publication of his manuscripts to his nuns, or gave them the option of entrusting this duty to someone else. Finally, Nectarios

⁴²⁹Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 96-97, 302; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 155.

⁴³⁰Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 95-96, 302-303.

bequeathed his two houses at the place of his birth in Selybria to his brother Charalambos D. Kephalas.⁴³¹

2. The Translation of Nectarios' Relics

Six months after the death of Nectarios, that is in May 1921, a marble tombstone given by Rizareios Seminary for the decoration of the grave of their former Dean was brought to the Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.⁴³² As the grave had been made in haste, it required further work. It was dictated that the coffin should be lifted out. When it was opened, everyone was amazed to see that Nectarios' body was perfectly preserved. His corpse was uncorrupted, whole and fragrant. His face seemed to be in a state of soft sweet sleep and his hands were a smooth, clean pale yellow. It did not present the smallest sign of putrefaction. The fragrance which emerged from Nectarios' body filled the whole Convent. The nuns placed the coffin of their spiritual father in the council

⁴³¹This event is also witnessed to at the following original unpublished letter of Saint Nectarios, which I found at his personal correspondence in Rizareios Seminary :

"ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ
ΡΙΖΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ
'Αριθ. 2731

Γενικόν πρόξενον Οθωμανικῆς Αύτοκρατορίας

'Οεύσεβάστως υποφαινόμενος Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος Δήμου Κεφαλᾶς ἐκ Σηλυβρίας τῆς Θράκης ἔχων μίαν ἴδιοκτητὸν οἰκίαν καὶ ἐτέραν μικροτέραν ἀπέναντι τῆς παλαιᾶς πατρικῆς μου οἰκίας ἐφ ἡς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου Χαράλαμπος Δήμου Κεφαλᾶς ἔχει ἐκ κληρονομίας τινὰ δικαιώματα, ἐπιθυμῶ νά μεταβιβάσω τά δικαιώματά μου ἐπί τῷ ἄμφωτέρων τῶν εἰρημένων οἰκιῶν πρός τόν ἀδελφόν μου Χαράλαμπον ἐπί τῷ ὅρῳ νά ὑπανδρεύσῃ δύο τῶν θυγατέρων του. 'Επί τούτῳ πέμπω σύν τῷ κομιστῇ τῆς παρούσης μου Κωνσταντίνου Σακκοπούλῳ τό σενέπι τῆς μιᾶς ἴδιοκτήτου μου οἰκίας, ὅπως γένηται ἡ μεταβίβασις πρός τόν ἀδελφόν μου, περί δέ τῆς ἐτέρας παρακαλῶ νά συνταχθῇ παραχωρητήριον τῶν δικαιωμάτων μου πρός αὐτόν.

Διατελῶ μετά τοῦ προσήκοντος σεβασμοῦ

ὅ Διευθυντής

ό Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος"

[Βιβλίον 'Αλληλογραφίας Δεύτερον Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Ἔκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριου ἀπό 1904 μέχρι 1908 p. 489].

⁴³²Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 93-94, 120-122.

chamber for three days and nights while the burial site was being repaired. Later they reentered the coffin according to the canonical order of the Church, in order to ascertain if this imperishableness ought to be attributed to natural or supernatural reasons. The continuous and intense fragrance of myrrh emitted by the corpse is considered a proof of sanctity.⁴³³ The nuns of Holy Trinity later wanted to re-open the tomb. They found the sacred body intact and fragrant. They buried it again in the earth. The same event was repeated three years after Nectarios' death and the nuns were filled with great emotion at seeing the same sight.⁴³⁴

Four years after Nectarios' death the first official disinterment took place, and the second after eight years. Those present, on each occasion, found the corpse whole and sweetly fragrant. The nuns transferred it to the council chamber on both occasions, where they kept an all-night vigil, and the following day they again replaced it in the grave.⁴³⁵ Many people from Aegina and other visitors to the Convent were eye-witnesses of the indissoluble corpse of Nectarios. The witness of the doctor of Aegina, George Xydeas, whom we subsequently cite, is considered trustworthy because of his character and of the prestige which he had earned in the society of Aegina. His witness is as follows:

⁴³³ibid., p. 93. Cf. also, Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 158-159; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 166.

⁴³⁴Archim. J. Spetsieris, *Βιογραφική σκιαγραφία καί θαύματα τοῦ ἐν Ὀσίοις ἀειμνήστον Πατρός ἡμῶν καί Ποιμενάρχου Νεκταρίου Μητροπολίτου πρ. Πενταπόλεως κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Αιγίνῃ Κοινοβιακῆς Ι. Μονῆς Γυναικῶν τῆς Αγίας Τριάδος* (Athens, 1929) 17; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 159, 161; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Αγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καὶ 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 38, (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 66-67, 180, 182.

⁴³⁵Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 326.

.... between 1930 and 1935, returning one evening from Mesagros caught in a storm, I was forced to shelter in the Sacred Convent of the Holy Trinity, in which I remained until the morning. Before going to bed, I considered it to be my obligation to venerate the tomb of Saint Nectarios, I drew the marble tombstone halfway, I advanced to see the Saint's face which was covered with the sacred aer and I smelled an indescribable fragrance. I faced the Saint, whom I knew from the past, as if he were sleeping, and although many years had passed since his death, no alteration of his face was present and he had a sparse beard.⁴³⁶

On the twentieth anniversary of Nectarios' death, his body disintegrated, and consequently his relics were distributed among churches all over the world. The sweet smell of myrrh remains in his bones to this day.⁴³⁷ On 2 September 1953 the translation of Nectarios' relics took place in the presence of Metropolitans Prokopios of Hydra and Antonios of Eleia, the nuns of the Convent, the clergy, the authorities of Aegina and a great number of pilgrims. The celebration began at 8 p.m. with the reading of the proper service. It continued with the translation of the relics and their cleaning. And afterward an all-night celebration in the church of the Convent, where the relics and the skull were placed for

⁴³⁶Doctor Xydeas' witness is the following :

".... μεταξύ τοῦ 1930 ἔως 1935, μίαν ἐσπέραν ἐπιστρέφοντας ἀπό τὸν Μεσαγρόν, καταληφθεὶς ὑπό ράγδαιοτάτης βροχῆς, ἤναγκάσθην νά καταφύγω εἰς τὴν Ἱεράν Μονήν Ἀγίας Τριάδος, δόπου καί παρέμεινα μέχρι πρωίας. Πρίν δύμως κατακλιθώ, ἐθεώρησα ὑποχρέωσίν μου, νά προσκυνήσω τὸν τάφον τοῦ Ἀγίου, ἔσυρα τὴν μαρμάρινην πλάκα τοῦ τάφου σχεδόν μέχρι τοῦ μέσου, προέβην εἰς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ Ἀγίου, τό ὅποιον ἦτο κεκαλυμμένον μέ τὸν ἄγιον ἀέρα καί ἡσθάνθην ἄρρητον εύωδίαν, εὐρεθείς πρό καταπληκτικοῦ θεάματος. Ἀντίκρυσα τὸν Ἀγιον, τὸν ὅποιον ἐγνώριζον ἀπό τό παρελθόν, ὡσάν νά ἐκοιμάτο καί ὁ ὅποιος καίτοι είχον παρέλθει τόσα ἔτη ἀπό τῆς θανῆς του, οὐδεμίαν ἀλλοίωσιν τοῦ προσώπου παρουσίαζεν καί ἐπί πλέον μάλιστα ἔφερεν καί ἀραιόν γένειον."

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλάς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 312; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τὸν Ἀγιο Νεκτάριο - Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τὸν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 127, 160].

⁴³⁷Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός (Thessaloniki: Ορθόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 162.

venerating. They made a record of the details of the removal of the relics, which was signed by all of those who attended.⁴³⁸

When the translation of the relics became known, a great number of the faithful converged on the Convent from the surrounding villages and towns, chiefly from Athens and Piraeus, where the hierarch had become famous for his great pastoral deeds. A chapel dedicated to the saint was erected along side of the church of the Convent for the accommodation of the converging faithful. A marble iconostasis in the style of an archierarchical throne was placed in the chapel, in which they put the skull of the Saint in a gold-plated miter, and next to it a silver-plated case housing his relics.⁴³⁹

3. Nectarios' Canonization

By the end of May 1959, the official Church of Greece began the necessary proceedings for the official recognition of the sanctity of Metropolitan Nectarios of Pentapolis. On 30 November 1959, the proposition of the late Metropolitan Prokopios of Hydra was referred to the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece. In brief it deals with the restoration of the derelict Convent of the Holy Trinity, in 1904, by Nectarios of Pentapolis of blessed memory, his spiritual and material offering, such as to the sisterhood of the Convent, and those to such people as asked for his assistance. Likewise, it deals with his gift in theological letters. In

⁴³⁸ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 115-119; Monk Theokletos (Dionysiatis), *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος ὁ Θαυματουργός* (Thessaloniki: Όρθρόδοξη Κυψέλη, 1979) 163; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Άγιο Νεκτάριο - Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 44-45, (Vol. 2) (Athens, 1989) 127, 160.

⁴³⁹ Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο"Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 118; M. Melinos, μίλησα μέ τόν "Άγιο Νεκτάριο - Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 καί 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 44-45.

continuation, it mentions the testimony of his miraculous power, which became perceptible during the last years of his earthly life and attracted a great number of Orthodox people. Finally, Metropolitan Prokopios reported his submission of a file with 23 important ascertained miracles of Blessed Nectarios which had been compiled by a committee of the Holy Trinity Convent of Aegina. This file was submitted to the Sacred Synod, to check the veracity of the miracles, so that it might be passed to the Great Church of Christ, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, to aid in the canonization of Metropolitan Nectarios.⁴⁴⁰

Within a few months, Metropolitan Panteleimon of Thessalonika, reported that, in the matter of the canonization of the newly revealed father of the Church Metropolitan Nectarios Kephalas, things were proceeding according to the standard order of canonization in the Orthodox Church. That meant that the conscience of the Church had already accepted Nectarios as a Saint, without any canonically valid objection or argument being marked-out concerning his sanctity. Metropolitan Panteleimon referred to the thousands of people who converge on the Convent of the Saint every day, and especially on the anniversary of his death. He mentioned their praying around his tomb, chanting laudatory hymns, and dedicating donations and offerings to his memory. Finally, the Metropolitan of Thessalonika suggested to the Synod that it should do what is canonically necessary for his official recognition as a saint.⁴⁴¹

The Synod took into account the suggestion of the two above Metropolitans, forwarded the document of the late Archbishop

⁴⁴⁰Metr. T. Matthaiakis, ΌΆγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 365-367.

⁴⁴¹ibid., pp. 368-370.

Theokletos of Athens to the late Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras (on 1st December 1960 to the Ministry for External Affairs (Administration of Foreign Churches). In this, he made the plea that according to the legislation of the Great Church of Christ, the Patriarchal and Synodical encyclical of canonization should be issued for Metropolitan Nectarios of Pentapolis.⁴⁴² On 20 April 1961 the Patriarchal and Synodical act of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the classification of the hierarch Nectarios among the blessed and saints of the Church was issued. This act (file number 260), which was countersigned by the Ecumenical Patriarch and by the members of the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, states that "from now until the last age the Hierarch Nectarios Kephalas of blessed memory is to be numbered among the blessed and the Saints of the Church, honored by the faithful and rewarded with praises on 9th November, the day on which he ended his life in the body."⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο'Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 372-373.

⁴⁴³ The Patriarchal Act for the classification states :

"ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ
ΕΛΕΩΘΕΟΥΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣΝΕΑΣΡΩΜΗΣ
ΚΑΙΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΣΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ
'Αριθμ.Πρωτ.260.

Τούς ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς πολιτευσαμένους καὶ πολλά ποιήσαντάς τε καὶ διδάξαντάς καὶ μετά τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἀποδημίαν σημείοις καὶ θαύμασι παρά Θεοῦ μαρτυρηθέντες, ὕμνοις ἐσαεὶ καὶ ἐγκωμίοις ἐν πάσῃ εὐλαβείᾳ τιμῶν καὶ γεραίρειν οὐδεν ή 'Αγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ 'Εκκλησία καὶ τὴν τούτων πρός τὸν Πανάγαθον Θεόν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι εὐπρόσδεκτον μεσιτείαν ὑπέρ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ ιάσεως τῶν ἀσθενούντων.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοιοῦτος τὸν βίον ἀνέδειχθη καὶ ὁ τῇ Θ' Νοεμβρίου τοῦ χιλιοστοῦ ἐννεακοσιοστοῦ εἰκοστοῦ σωτηρίου ἔτους πρός Κύριον ἐκδημήσας ἀοίδιμος Μητροπολίτης πρώην Πενταπόλεως Νεκτάριος ὁ Κεφαλᾶς, δισιότητι μέν καὶ ἀγιότητι βίου διακριθείς καὶ τύπον καὶ ὑπογραμμόν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀγαθοεργίας ἐαυτόν παραστήσας καὶ ζῶν δέ καὶ μετά θάνατον τοῦ χαρίσματος τῆς τῶν θαυμάτων ἐνεργείας παρά Θεοῦ ἀξιωθείς, ή Μετριότης ἡμῶν μετά τῶν περὶ ἡμάς 'Ιερωτάτων Μητροπολιτῶν καὶ ὑπερτίμων, τῶν ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι ἀγαπητῶν ἡμῖν ἀδελφῶν καὶ συλλειτουργῶν ὑπ̄ ὅψιν λαβόντες τὸν ἄγιον βίον καὶ τὴν ἄγιαν τελευτὴν τοῦ ὄσιον τούτου ἀνδρός, ἀμαδέ καὶ τά δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργηθέντα καὶ νῦν δ ἔτι ἐνεργούμενα θαύματα, περί ὧν ἀπάντων, δι' ἀναφορᾶς αὐτοῦ πρός τὴν 'Εκκλησίαν, ἀποφάσει τῆς 'Ιερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς

With great emotion and festive tone, the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece, by encyclical number 1161 of 30 June 1961, made known the above mentioned document of the Ecumenical Patriarch to the hierarchs of the Church of Greece, and urged the clergy and people to fill the churches during the anniversary of Nectarios' memory, sending-up praise to God and invoking the Saint's mediation for the healing of soul and body.⁴⁴⁴

The rites which took place in Aegina on the occasion of the official canonization of the founder of Holy Trinity Convent, lasted three days and happened as follows: On Friday, 3rd November 1961 the Convent and the entire island of Aegina were decorated with

'Ιεραρχίας τῆς Ἀγιωτάτης Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος διαβιβασθείσης, ὑπέβαλε καὶ ἐβεβαιώσατο ὁ Ἱερώτατος Μητροπολίτης Ὑδρας, Σπετσῶν καὶ Αἰγίνης καὶ ἀγαπητός ἡμῖν ἀδελφός κύριος Προκόπιος, συνυποβάλλων καὶ τὴν κατά τὴν διαρρεύσασαν τελευταίαν δεκαετίαν, οὐ μόνον παρά τῷ πληρώματι τῆς Θεοσώστου αὐτοῦ Ἐπαρχίας, ἐν ἥ εὑρηται ἡ παρά τοῦ Οσίου ἰδρυθείσα ἱερά Κοινοβιακή Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης, ἐνθα ούτος ἐβίωσε καὶ ἐτάφη ἀλλά καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι χριστιανοῖς ὄλοκλήρου τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀδιάσειστον πλέον ἀποβάσαν πεποίθησιν καὶ πίστιν περὶ τῆς ἀγιότητος αὐτοῦ, καὶ κοινήν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ παράκλησιν περὶ κατατάξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγίων χορείᾳ, ἔγνωμεν, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔθει κατακολουθούντες, τὴν προσήκουσαν τοῖς θείοις ἀνδράσι καὶ τούτῳ ἀπονεῖμαι πιμήν.

Διό καὶ θεοπίζομεν συνοδικῶς καὶ διοριζόμεθα καὶ ἐν ἀγίῳ διακελευόμεθα Πνεύματι, ὅπως ἀπό τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς εἰς αἰώνα τὸν ἄπαντα ὁ ἀοίδιμος Ἱεράρχης Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς συναριθμήται τοῖς Οσίοις καὶ Ἀγίοις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τιμώμενος παρά τῶν πιστῶν καὶ ὕμνοις ἐγκωμίων γεραιρόμενος τῇ θ' τοῦ μηνός Νοεμβρίου, ἐν ἥ δσίως τὸν μετά σώματος βίον ἐτερμάτισεν.

Εἰς ἔνδειξιν δέ τούτου καὶ βεβαίωσιν ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ παρούσα Πατριαρχική ἡμῶν καὶ Συνοδική Πρᾶξις, καταστρωθείσα μέν καὶ ὑπογραφέσα ἐν τῷδε τῷ Ἱερῷ Κώδικι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, ἐν'ισω δέ καὶ ἀπαραλλάκτῳ ἀποσταλείσα τῷ Ἱερωτάτῳ Μητροπολίτῃ Ὑδρας, Σπετσῶν καὶ Αἰγίνης κ. Προκοπίῳ, πρός κατάθεσιν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχείοις τῆς Ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ Μητροπόλεως.

- 'Ἐν σωτηρίῳ απέξα', κατά μῆνα' Απρίλιον (κ'), Ἐπινεμέσεως ΙΔ'
- + 'Ο Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀθηναγόρας ἀποφαίνεται
- + 'Ο Χαλκηδόνος Θωμᾶς
- + 'Ο Δέρκων Ιάκωβος
- + 'Ο Πριγκηποννήσων Δωρόθεος
- + 'Ο Νεοκαισαρείας Χρυσόστομος
- + 'Ο Λασοδικείας Μάξιμος
- + 'Ο Σάρδεων Μάξιμος
- + 'Ο Ροδοπόλεως Ιερώνυμος
- + 'Ο Φιλαδελφείας Ιάκωβος"

[Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 374-375].

⁴⁴⁴ibid., pp. 376-377.

flags. The next day, 4th November, the Divine Liturgy was celebrated in the chapel of Saint Nectarios while the bells joyfully sounded. At 6 p.m. Great Vespers with "artoklasia" was chanted at the abbey in the presence of six bishops. On Sunday, 5th November, the Festal Liturgy was celebrated in the abbey by the six bishops. The procession of the Saint's skull took place from the Convent to the city of Aegina, preceded by the seminarians of Rizareios carrying the cherubic fans (exapteriga), the lanterns and banners. The procession ended at the Cathedral church of Aegina, at which the Doxology was chanted. The bishops and other clergy, ministers, members of the Greek Parliament, representatives of the Armed Forces and local authorities were present at the Doxology. The night of 5th to 6th November an All-Night Vigil and Liturgy was celebrated in the Cathedral of Aegina. On Monday, 6th November, in the afternoon, the holy skull was again transported to the Convent in the company of clergy and hundreds of Christians. When the procession arrived at the Convent, prayers were chanted followed by Great Episcopal Vespers. The festive rites concluded with Vespers.⁴⁴⁵

Today, the shrine of Saint Nectarios, at his Convent in Aegina, accepts many of the faithful on a daily basis. They are made up of various social orders, and present petitions and prayers before the relics and the holy skull of the Saint. The benefit that the Saint exerts on the souls of the majority of pilgrims is manifested on their faces. They leave full of happiness and relief, considering their visit to the Convent as a communication with the Divine, and they give thanks to the Saint, invoking his intercessions. He is the

⁴⁴⁵ibid., pp. 294-296, 386-389. Cf. also, M. Melinos, *μίλησα μέ τόν "Άγιο Νεκτάριο – Συνεντεύξεις μέ 30 και 1 ἀνθρώπους πού τόν γνώρισαν* (Vol. 1) (Athens, 1987) 46-50.

new Myrrh-Exuder of the Church. He is the patron and affectionate father of all those who have recourse to his grace. After his death, his memory continues to benefit those who look to him as a example and intercessor.

CONCLUSION

This account of the ministry of Saint Nectarios was compiled on the basis of research I have done in the Archives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, of the Archdiocese of Sinai, of the Greek Communities of Egypt, of Rizareios Seminary, of the Monasteries of Grottaferrata in Rome and of Holy Trinity in Aegina, and other private archives.

The first chapter deals with Nectarios's childhood years in Selybria. Nectarios, known in the world as Anastasios, graduated from the elementary school of his birth place, and with the moral and financial support of his family went to Constantinople in 1860, in pursuit of higher studies, at the School of the Holy Sepulcher in the Phanar. At the same period he worked as a clerk-assistant in a tobacco shop. Subsequently he went to the island of Chios in 1866, where he undertook duties as a teacher of the students of the elementary school in the village of Lithi. The contact of Anastasios with the spiritual father Pachomios, was sealed with his initiation as a novice monk in the Monastery of the Nea Moni of Chios, where he became a professed monk on the 7th of November 1876, taking the name Lazaros. Bishop Gregorios ordained him deacon on the 15th of January 1877, renaming him Nectarios. Nectarios was register with the Theological School of Athens, for the academic year 1882-83. Nectarios received his degree of Theology on 25 October 1885.

The second chapter presents Nectarios' career in Alexandria as presbyter and bishop. It was through Nectarios' own initiative that the Community of the Cairo organized benevolent performances, in order to collect money, and also erected houses for the poor people. Nectarios was particularly interested in the financial management of the Community of Cairo and in the collection of money to cover the deficit of its treasury. He also collected money for the iconography and decoration of Saint Nicholas church in Cairo, for the restoration of the Patriarchate, and for the renovation of the Community building in Cairo. The same chapter also presents the tension which existed between Nectarios and Sophronios, from the end of 1899, concluding with his returning to Athens. The same chapter includes also the correspondence which Nectarios developed with the Archbishop Porphyrios 1st of Sinai, revealing at the same

time unknown aspects of the Saint's relationship with the Sinaitic Brotherhood, during the years 1886-1890.

The third chapter refers to Nectarios's appointment as Preacher to the Province of Euboea in 1891. In April 1892, by various publications in the press and by resolutions, the Christians of the Archdiocese of Chalkis whose Archiepiscopal See had been vacant for over one year, expressed their desire to appoint Nectarios as the Archbishop. In the end, Evgenios Depastas was elected the Bishop of Chalkis. Nectarios was transferred to the post of Preacher of the Province of Phthiotis-Phokis, in 1893, because this area needed the service of a good preacher more strongly. Immediately after his appointment, he took his journeys throughout the Province, visiting the towns of : Lamia, Amphissa, Domokos and Atalante. He remained there for six months.

The forth chapter deals with Nectarios' appointment as administrator of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary in 1894. The Dean was appointed to teach certain lessons, such as Christian Ethics, Pastoral Care, and Orthodox Sacred Catechism. He spent his powers in his educational work, in the shaping of the souls of the students, through the formation of clerical consciousness and ecclesiastical ethos. Metropolitan Nectarios was not limited to the performance of duties exclusively related to Rizareios Seminary, but with them also developed important extra-circular activity in Athens, Piraeus and the suburbs. The State honored him many times, entrusting him with the task of adjudicator for many educational subjects. Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens entrusted Nectarios with the ordinations of deacons and presbyters, the interrogation of defendant clerics, or called him to conferences on diverse themes for the public good. In 1907 Nectarios was candidate Bishop of Chalkis and in 1899 candidate Patriarch of Alexandria. During the summer holidays of Rizareios in 1898, Nectarios visited the Holy Mountain. In February 7, 1908 Nectarios offered his final resignation to the Committee of Rizareios for reasons of health. The Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs accepted the resignation and made a special laudatory notation expressing royal satisfaction.

The fifth chapter includes the foundation of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina. Nectarios abandoned all the honors ascribed to him in order to place himself in the midst of simple everyday tasks

and tiring chores. During the time that building was being erected, the Bishop not only directed the operations, but personally involved himself in the process of construction, thus setting a humble example to the surprised nuns. The interest of Nectarios was not limited to the erection of his monastery and its moral and material support, but included the whole island of Aegina. He established daily meals in his convent for its workers, for the students of the convent's "school," and for the visitors who happened to be there at lunch-time. The guest' quarters of the monastery offered hospitality to many people, whose service had been undertaken by the nuns. Other nuns looked after the destitute widows and orphans of Aegina, and distributed money and food. The Saint involved the poor of Aegina in the convent's work with the pretext of employment, and in that way helped them financially. The assistance which Nectarios extended was also spiritual. The people found in him comfort and consolation. Nectarios gave up his spirit to God in the night of the 8th of November 1920, at the age of 74 years. His corpse was buried in Aegina.

The sixth chapter comprises Metropolitan Nectarios' canonization. The testator Metropolitan Nectarios left all his movable and immovable property to the sisterhood of the Monastery in Aegina. Six months after his death, that is in May 1921, a marble tombstone given by Rizareios Seminary for the decoration of the grave of their former Dean was brought to the Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina. As the grave had been made in haste, it required further work. It was dictated that the coffin should be lifted out. When it was opened, everyone was amazed to see that Nectarios' body was perfectly preserved. His corpse was uncorrupted, whole and fragrant. Later they reentered the coffin according to the canonical order of the Church, in order to ascertain if this imperishableness ought to be attributed to natural or supernatural reasons. The nuns later wanted to re-open the tomb. They found the sacred body intact and fragrant. The same event was repeated three and four years after his death and the nuns were filled with great emotion at seeing the same sight. On the twentieth anniversary of Nectarios' death, his body disintegrated, and his relics were distributed among churches all over the world. The sweet smell of myrrh remains in his bones to this day. The translation of Nectarios' relics took place

on 2 September 1953. On 20 April 1961 the Patriarchal act of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for Nectarios' classification among the blessed and saints of the Church was issued.

In every chapters I discuss the Saint's publications, speaking of each of them in chronological order. There is a brief presentation of the theological treatises which the Saint wrote, and the correspondence which he maintained during each period of his life and ministry. In addition, I presented an extensive anthology from them in my bibliography. Within the framework of Nectarios' duties is the correspondence he exchanged with various persons, that are recorded in the bibliography. In his letters, Nectarios reported about many subjects concerning his pastoral and administrative work in Cairo, in Euboea, in Athens and Aegina. Thoroughly studding these letters, we are able to see the feelings of gratitude which took hold of Nectarios soul toward his benefactors. We observed also his love and respect towards his superiors and subordinates, his interest and his concern for his collaborators and for their families.

The present study includes also seven interviews, which have been nobly granted by old people, from different social classes of Greece and abroad, who were personally acquainted with Nectarios. Their witness refers to little known aspects of the personality, life and activity of the Saint. There is also a catalogue of churches and foundations dedicated to the Saint's memory throughout the world.

What comes out of this study is the following conclusion:

a) Saint Nectarios displayed self denial and perseverance for the materialization of the social, charitable and humanitarian work he did. He earned the appreciation and the respect of the notables of the local Churches for the execution of his duties, but at the same time it created an unfair war against him conducted by his brother-hierarchs.

b) After his expulsion from Egypt, Metropolitan of Pentapolis was accused by his colleagues of being immoral, disobedient toward the Patriarch, and unable to become acclimated to Egypt, although according to his Certificate of discharge he could perform his Episcopal duties, and according to John Gryparis, he was considered to be an energetic and effective priest, becoming the victim of conspiracy and slander.

c) Saint Nectarios preferred silence, and obeyed the decision of the Patriarch. He preferred to be unjustly accused rather than destroy the image of prelacy before the eyes of his flock, or to censure his brother hierarchs who had wronged him, because he believed the event of his expulsion was to be understood as divine will.

d) The Saint was accused in Greece of having abandoned the place of his election in order to serve God, by those having false information or who ignored the fact that he was violently removed from his post. Nectarios accepted the accusations rather than to defend his reputation, because he did not wish to irritate Patriarch Sophronios.

e) Metropolitan Nectarios visited Egypt, after the death of Sophronios, and not before that, because he did not wish to defy Sophronios. He believed in vain that the hatred of the past had been forgotten within the ten years of his absence. He did not want to cause discord but unity and peace. He left silently, being certain that he contributed to the conciliation of the local Church.

f) The Saint wished to maintain good relations with those who caused him such a grief, therefore he maintained correspondence with Patriarchs Sophronios, Photios, and Joachim, and other hierarchs, sending them his writings and offering hospitality to them, showing them in action Christian love and forgiveness, and feelings of gratitude to his benefactors, elements which witness to a highly spiritual, cultivated and superior man.

g) Metropolitan Nectarios' desire to be recognized in his life time as a legal Bishop of the Eastern Orthodox Church was never fulfilled. Only after his physical death, was his sanctity officially proclaimed, and he continues his pastoral activity with supernatural and universal dimensions, for the benefit of those who continue to live in the present time.

h) Nectarios's desire to see his monastic community being officially recognized during his life time by the Greek Orthodox Church, was never fulfilled. Four years after the death of Nectarios, when Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos brought the delay of the convent's official recognition to an end, by a Royal Decree of 1924.

i) The present thesis shows how Saint Nectarios faced up to the ceaseless attacks of the adversary, and how in the end he was

victorious - receiving the crown of victory and sanctity from God. And by knowing him as the true friend of God, will also come to love and revere him, and, most important, will come to honor him by imitating and following his example of true spiritual power and victory that is received by the faithful in a spirit of personal humility and an absolute trust in God.

APPENDIX ONE: INTERVIEWS OF EYEWITNESSES

1. Introduction

The title of the present appendix speaks for itself. It concerns nine years of systematic investigation which I have made, collecting and recording data from many of those people who had been acquainted with the Saint of our century, the Metropolitan Nectarios (Kephalas) of Pentapolis. The interviews have been nobly granted by people mostly octogenarians or older, from different social classes of Greece and abroad, who were personally acquainted with Nectarios. Their witness refers to little known aspects of the personality, life and activity of the Saint.

Although I recorded a total of forty interviews, because of the limitations in the present study, I will cite only seven of these as examples. The first interview is entitled "General" because of its character. It was given in Athens on February 7, 1989, by the nephew and godson of Saint Nectarios, Mr. Anastasios Ch. Kephalas and refers to the Saint's earthly journey from Selybria to the present. The second was given in Salonika on September 5, 1991, by Mrs. Elizabeth Nikolaidou, and refers to his childhood. The third was given in Cairo on February 4, 1992, by Archimandrite Fr. Gennadios Arnaoutelis, the priestly director of the Patriarchal Cathedral Church of Saint Nicholas in Cairo, and deals with the activity of the Saint in Egypt. The fourth was given in Euboia, on December 20, 1991, by Mrs. Catherine Staikidou, and refers to the Saint's ministry as Preacher in the Province of Euboia. The fifth was given in Lamia, on February 25, 1992, by Mrs. Maria Zirganou, and refers to his pastoral activity in Lamia. The sixth was given on the Holy Mountain, on March 25, 1989, by the Hieromonk Gregorios Danielidis,

and refers to the Saint's pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain when he was the dean of Rizareios Seminary. The seventh was given in Aegina on November 29, 1988, by Mr. John Lazarou, and refers to the period of the Saint's life in Aegina.

As it is well known in the cases of interviews, the present author is responsible for the faithful presentation of the interviews, but not for their content. The text is verbatim rendering.

2. Interviews

1) Anastasios Ch. Kephalas (General)

I am the nephew and godson of Saint Nectarios. My father Charalambos was the Saint's brother. The Saint had three brothers and three sisters. His devotion, his deep faith in God and his whole behavior marked him out from his childhood. He climbed on the rocks in Selybria and chanted religious hymns.. He sat on his grandmother's knees and learned the hymns by heart. He was never absent from the church. He wrote various notes, and read to the children of his neighborhood, he preached the divine word to them.

At the age of fourteen, Anastasios left his birthplace and went to Constantinople, in order to continue his studies in the high school, because in his native land there was nothing similar. Firstly, he started working close to a tobacconist, unknown to him. He wrote mottoes of the Fathers of the Church and the ancient sages of Greece on the receipts and the tobacco pouches for the benefit of the customers there. He worked there to cover his personal expenses including his stay and his studies. Some biographers of the Saint maintain that because of the financial poverty of his

family, Saint Nectarios went to Constantinople to work and from this income sought to support his family financially. This theory is not at all true.

After being in Constantinople he went over to Chios, where he worked as a primary schoolmaster in the village of Lithi until the day he went to Nea Moni to become a monk. When the Saint was close to becoming a monk, he called his brother Charalambos from Constantinople to undertake his position at the school in Lithi, which was a donation of Andreas Syngros. The excellent Chiotan John Choremes wanted to provide expenses for a young man to study. The Chiotans indicated Deacon Nectarios Kephalas to him as the most suitable candidate. In that way, my uncle graduated from the Theological School of Athens.

The Saint then went over to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, where he was ordained a priest and Metropolitan of Pentapolis. During this period he kept in contact with my father, and helped him to study in order to obtain a better position. Then the patriarchal entourage slandered the Saint to Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria, with the result that they obliged him to leave Egypt for good. During his stay in Egypt Saint Nectarios offered great service to the Church of Alexandria. He offered the whole of his income for the iconography of the church of Saint Nicholas in Cairo, and for all that they rejected him. He asked to apologize but the Patriarch would not accept this.

The Saint, after returning to Athens, remained silent regarding these unjust happenings. He preferred to keep silent rather than to blame his accusers. The only one who knew what had happened was my father. The tragic truth is that Saint Nectarios during this period was literally starving. He wrote to my

father and pleaded with him to send some food, because he had nothing at all. I need to remark here that my father's family consisted of fifteen members, and he received the salary of a primary schoolmaster. He sent what he could afford to his brother. It happened that the Saint had remained hungry for three days in succession. He overcame his trial by his appointment as Sacred Preacher.

In Rizareios Seminary, he showed the greatness of his soul. In this position, the Saint was distinguished by his humility and his dedication to the work he had undertaken in preparing the youths of his age for the highest ministry in holy orders. He knew that the teenagers misbehaved many times. He, however, restored them to order with his discernment, without physically wounding them. He preferred to chastise himself by abstaining from the mid-day meal, rather than punish his students. He believed that he was jointly responsible for their improper behavior.

Saint Nectarios bought the ruined monastery of Holy Trinity in Aegina, and he repaired it with his income from Rizareios. He also made himself one of the workers. He made efforts during his whole life. They also accused him of smoking, but that was not true. All my family visited him in his monastery. When he came to Piraeus, he came to see my father and stayed with him.

On November 8, 1920, the eve of Saint Nectarios' death, I visited him with one of my sisters in Areteion Hospital where he had been nursed. My father had passed away the previous year. I kissed his hand and he blessed me. He then prayed and assured me that the soul of my father was at rest.

Many times, I invoke the Saint in the difficult circumstances of my life, and I see him before me, advising me. I feel a great pride that the popular Saint of our century is included in my family.

2) Elizabeth Nikolaidou (Period of Selybria)

I was born in Selybria in Eastern Thrace and grew up in Constantinople. I came to Greece in 1924. My father was the same age as Saint Nectarios and was his friend. Also, one of my sisters called Smaro was a friend of the Saint's nieces.

In Selybria during the Saint's childhood, there was a Metropolis, a court, a telegraph office, and an association of maidens and ladies. The town had a population of eight thousand. There was a Greek quarter as well as Armenian, Jewish and Turkish quarters, the last of which was outside of the walls of the city. There were several parish churches. Saint Nectarios' parish was the Dormition of Theotokos, the Theotokos of the 15 August, as we called her, in Paraporti. His house was close to a concealed fountain, Davarni-Tsesme. Unfortunately when I visited Selybria for the last time before 1983, his house had been demolished.

As far as education in Selybria was concerned, it had a mixed school with six classes. The rich people had founded the Girls' School with two more classes besides: the seventh and the eighth, which corresponded to the first two classes of the Gymnasium. If a young person wanted to continue his studies when he finished at the elementary school, then he would have to go to the nearest town to Selybria, the Epivates, or to Constantinople. Saint Nectarios chose Constantinople, where he went when he was fourteen years old, and he combined his studies with work.

He initially worked in a grocery-tobacconist's shop in Constantinople. His young mind was continuously on his studies, and his employer appreciating this love of learning, sent him to a school of Constantinople (perhaps in Theological School of Chalkis) for further studies. Subsequently, his school sent him to Chios where he was ordained a deacon. Although the Saint left Selybria he kept in touch with his family and fellow-countrymen. His parents did not go to Athens, but remained in Selybria until their deaths.

3) Archimandrite Gennadios Arnaoutelis (Period of Egypt)

By Divine Grace I am the dean of Saint Nicholas church in Cairo, in which Saint Nectarios served as a Patriarchal Commissioner for five years, and in which he was ordained Metropolitan of Pentapolis. A great number of devout Christians of the Greek Paroikia of Cairo and Alexandria, and even from abroad, often visited this church to pay homage to the memory of the Saint of our century. Many elderly compatriots tell stories which they heard from their parents and grandparents concerning Saint Nectarios, when he served in this church. One of them is also a Greek-Egyptian Mr. Koutsolioutsos, ninety-three years old today, who told me many things from his father's personal acquaintance with Saint Nectarios, that I will now relate to you.

The Saint went down to the church very early in the morning around four o'clock when he celebrated the liturgy. He had many names to commemorate. He kept the names of those he commemorated imprinted in his memory, divided according to their peripheries. He started with the living and those who had fallen asleep, of his birth-place Selybria, of Constantinople, of Greece,

etc.. During the liturgy, they brought the sick to him. The Saint had the gift of exorcism. The most demon-possessed were Mohammedans. The Saint read prayers for them only when they brought written permits to him from their religious leader, the Imam.

Although the church of Saint Nicholas at that period had six priests, the Saint wanted to celebrate alone at the vigils. He wore the phelonion of the priest, and the omophorion. On Sundays he celebrated as a bishop, and he always preached from the pulpit. The Saint at that time lived opposite the church, next to the great gate of the Patriarchate, in a low two-story house which was torn down in 1989 since it was crumbling. In the court-yard of Saint Nicholas there was an orchard which the Saint transformed into a garden and cared for. He liked nature very much, speaking with the plants and blessing them. He scattered the flowers with the water of sanctification each month.

Saint Nectarios' activity in Cairo also included the iconography of Saint Nicholas church, which was financed from his small income and the donations of other Christians. As a result the Patriarchal Committee experienced difficulties, even to lacking their "daily bread." The Saint made sacrificial economies for the iconography of the church. Saint Nectarios often went down to visit the Paroikia of Cairo, to find out if any fellow-countrymen were sick. He knew his congregation, and if someone was absent from the Liturgy, he made inquiries. He did not permit himself to allow a compatriot to die in Cairo without confessing and communicating through him before hand.

Mr. Koutsolioutsos' father had a Mohammedan friend, a baker, who had heard that the Saint was a devout Bishop. The Muslims of

Cairo loved him for his noble presence and manners. The baker wanted to make the acquaintance of the Bishop, and wished him to read a prayer for his health. The first time that the Mohammedan saw the Saint he knelt. Then the Saint stretched his hand out on his head and said to him:

"God will make you well."

The Muslim then felt a power enter him, although until then he had suffered from great disability. The second time that he came he was better. The third time, the Saint told him not to come again because he was perfectly well. The Mohammedan, deeply moved by the therapy, offered to bake the bread for the Liturgy. The afternoon he thought about baking the bread he entered the Patriarchate, and instead of knocking on the door of the Saint's room, pushed it and entered. He saw him elevated, praying in ecstasy. When the Saint realized that the man was there, he rebuked him for coming to his room without permission, and prohibited him from returning to the Patriarchate, but he later visited the baker.

Eventually, the Saint fell into disfavor with the court of the Patriarch Sophronios. He did not use the same methods his colleagues had used to annihilate him but forgave them, and allowed them to slander him. He left everything in God's hands. According to the evidence offered by Mr. Koutsolioutsos, on the Sunday when Saint Nectarios was relieved of his duties, he was the celebrant. As he offered incense during the Cherubic Hymn, an assistant of the Patriarch came from Alexandria. He entered the sanctuary and ostentatiously left an envelope on the Holy Altar. During the communion, as he was under the impression that it could be a Patriarchal Encyclical, he read his own discharge from his duties as

Patriarchal Commissioner, instead of preaching. After the reading of the document the Saint realized that they had relieved him. The people were very embittered, alarmed and went to close the doors, not allowing the bishop to leave. He said peacefully:

"Do not fear, His will be done. If I am the obstacle for the Patriarchate of His All Holiness, may God discharge me, but if I am not a hindrance, He will take the other impediments and He will leave me to tend you."

Until the end of the liturgy, the Saint steeped the Holy Altar in his tears. He said to Mr. Koutsolioutsos' father:

"Find a new spiritual father, this was my last liturgy here, I want you to remember it."

Taking the holy bread ($\alphaντίδωρον$) from the Saint's hand, they applauded him, to show their support for him. For the first time, Saint Nectarios left through the Royal Doors, and not from the back-door of the church, the sanctuary, from which we, the clergymen, usually leave. When the Saint went out into the court-yard, he returned right to the back of the church of Saint Nicholas, where they buried the Patriarchs. He prayed the memorial service for the late Patriarchs, and gave thanks to them for their Abrahamic hospitality which they had offered to him and the dignity of Bishop to which he had been elevated.

After his discharge May 1890, one Sunday the Saint ascended into the pulpit to preach, until unexpectedly Patriarch Sophronios entered the church and brusquely said to him:

"Come down from the pulpit, I have relieved you from preaching as well."

This incident, the knowledge of which was circulated even until now by the Sinaitic Brotherhood, took place before the then Archbishop Porphyrios of Sinai.

Today, here in the church of Saint Nicholas, next to his icon is placed the icon of Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis to remind the devout pilgrims and visitors of his passing and departure.

4) Catherine Staikidou (Period of Euboia)

During the years 1891 to 1893, Saint Nectarios served as the Sacred Preacher of the Province of Euboia. He then had the opportunity of making acquaintance with many devout families of Chalkis, among them the family of my aunt Phane C. Joachim. He was often welcomed at her house in Avandon street in Chalkis. One Sunday, leaving the liturgy in Saint Nicholas' church in Chalkis, Saint Nectarios went as usual to my aunt's house to drink coffee. She brought the tray with the coffee and the scones. Just then there was a knock at the outside door. A gypsy-woman was there asking for alms. Immediately, my aunt gave her a coin. He seized her hand, saying to her strictly:

"Phane, what are you doing ?"

"Your Eminence, I gave her my aid."

"Not in that way, Phane. Take this tray and go close to her. Sit together until she has eaten what she wants. Afterwards, you can come."

So it was. When the woman had eaten, my aunt prepared a new breakfast for the Saint. At that time, the tailor Andrianopoulos, father of seven children, was dangerously ill. When the Saint last celebrated the liturgy in Saint Athanasios' church, he said to his concelebrants,

"Please, Fathers, do not take your vestments off. We will go as we are, to the house of the dying Andrianopoulos, to pray that his children do not become orphans."

They went and knelt at the bed of the sick man. Saint Nectarios offered a petition, prayed fervently and blessed the dying man. By that time that they had returned to Saint Athanasios' church, the sick man had completely recovered.

My parents confessed through Saint Nectarios and received absolution many times. My mother described him as a very wise man, who infused her with deep devotion. The Saint last visited Chalkis in 1912.

5) Nun Philothei Zirganou (Period of Phthiotis-Phokis)

I am 102 years old today. My name in the world was Maria. My parents became acquainted with Saint Nectarios in Lamia. I met him later, when he came to our house in Kephissia. As a Sacred Preacher of Phthiotidophokis he celebrated the liturgy in the church The All-Holy-The-Noble (Panaghia Archontike), the first Metropolis of Zitounion, as they then called Lamia. This church was built in 1763, on the mountain, under the Castle of Lamia. It was named Noble because the noble landlords of Roumelis erected it. The church had three holy altars and was painted with five hundred frescoes. the deacon Athanasios also served there. Since the then Bishop of Zitounion, Anthimos was ill, Saint Nectarios celebrated in the All-Holy-The-Noble for him.

At that time, the shops of Lamia did not close on Sundays, and the Saint was upset that the storekeepers did not go to church. They indicated the people of Lamia not to go to church, and they

went down into the town to shop. At the end of the liturgy, he went down into the town of Lamia holding a lit thurible and he censed the storekeepers of the area and said to them:

"Since you cannot come, I will come to you."

They felt shamed and humiliated that the Bishop should come down to them, and decided to close their shops at the time when he would celebrate, in token of their esteem and respect towards him. Then the closure of the shops on Sundays prevailed.

Saint Nectarios made the acquaintance of a young child Costes Sakkopoulos in Lamia. He accompanied the Saint in All-Holy-The-Noble. They would go down by donkeys from the footpaths, just as it is today. Saint Nectarios' house in Lamia is still in existence today, but is a ruin. It is to be found in the "People's Square" in Lamia, by the colossal plane trees, by the waters of the Gorgopotamos, above the steps, near the church of The All-Holy Lady. His house is located on the hill of Lamia Castle, where the church of The All-Holy is.

Every year, on the feast-day of the All-Holy-The-Noble, 21 November they brought seeds to the Saint for him to bless. Therefore on the Saint's days, the church was named "Mesosporitisa," from the seeds that the Saint blessed. Although this church was large, the congregation was larger than it could hold, and the Saint went out to the first steps at the entrance to preach to the people, who were seated on the grass.

Once I confessed through Saint Nectarios my desire to become a nun in the Convent of The All-Holy in Damasta. I was married to General Zigranos and I had three children. His Eminence told me:

"You will become a nun, and a student of mine who is my spiritual equal will tonsure you."

Some years later I made the acquaintance of Father Philotheos Zervakos, who tonsured me, after the death of my husband.

6) Hieromonk Gregorios Danielidis (Period Rizareios)

Daniel Katounakiotis was the founder of the skete and our Brotherhood, in the area of Katounakia of the Holy Mountain. He established this Brotherhood in 1881, and lived in isolation for twenty years 1861-1881 at other monasteries in the Holy Mountain. He was noted for his virtuous life and his fame began to become known in ecclesiastical circles of the Greek Church. Saint Nectarios was one of his closest coworkers and friends. From the evidence of Elder Daniel's first attendants, we see how close was the spiritual association of these two men. Through correspondence one consoled the other in his trials. They confessed through each other. Saint Nectarios contributed by his personal outlay and by his friends' donations to the foundation of our monastery and of its church. Therefore our Elder called the Saint "eternal founder of skete."

The two Fathers became acquainted in 1898, when Saint Nectarios, as dean of Rizareios Seminary, visited the Holy Mountain, during the Seminary's summer holidays. When he came to our skeet, nobody understood what he was, because his whole attire and appearance portrayed him as a poor monk, not a Bishop. He was dressed in a rason, a monastic skull-cap and his small pectoral cross. When a charismatic hermit revealed the Episcopal order of Saint Nectarios, Daniel and his attendants were amazed at the humility and simplicity of their exalted visitor. Daniel was enthralled by the spiritual discussions which he had with the

Metropolitan of Pentapolis. These two passed complete evenings praying. It is certain that Saint Nectarios visited our skeet twice.

We keep four letters which Saint Nectarios wrote to Elder Daniel, and also fourteen volumes with the collected works of Saint John Chrysostom, all his theological treatises, with his autograph, one of his prayer-ropes, and one of his photographs, all given by the Saint to Elder Daniel, as a token of their spiritual association.

7) John Lazarou (Period of Aegina)

I was fourteen years old when I first became acquainted with Saint Nectarios. I saw him near the road which leads from his Convent. He struggled on his own to build the little church of Saint Paraskevi there making mud with water which he carried from long distances, and with stones from ruined walls. In that way he built the little church and I remember helping him then as much as I could.

Two years later, the Saint called me to work for the erection of his Convent. One day I was carrying sand from the area of Aghios Vasileios with my donkey for the Saint's Convent. When I arrived at the stream there, where the road leads to Saint Tryphon, my animal turned back, although I was leading it down, and I profaned the Name of God. When I went to the Convent, His Eminence immediately called me to his office, where he revealed to me that I had profaned on the mountain. Filled with shame, I apologized and continued my tasks. This event further confirmed me in my respect towards Saint Nectarios, because I knew that in that place where I profaned, there was nobody else who could have run to tell him. His Eminence had a farsighted gift, he was then a saint.

I went to the Convent of the Saint regularly. Once, after his death, I met King Rastaphar of Abyssinia, who told of the following incident which happened to him. He had a great problem with his speech and could not talk at all. In spite of having visited great doctors, he could not find a cure. One day Saint Nectarios appeared before him in his rason and monastic skull-cap, and reassured him saying that there was no problem, and in a few minutes he would be well. Rastaphar's wife, who was present during this conversation, asked the unknown visitor who he was. He answered:

"I am Nectarios and my house is in Aegina, in Greece. You can ask anyone, and he will tell you how to find me."

The Saint immediately disappeared after the conversation. The king became well and came to Aegina, to thank his benefactor.

APPENDIX TWO: CHURCHES OF SAINT NECTARIOS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

1. Introduction

The continuous increase in the numbers of erections of exquisite churches and chapels and all kinds of holy establishment in his honor where many of the faithful converge to seek intercessions and be cured of every kind of illness, is an expression of the Orthodox Christian world's love for the recently canonized Nectarios.

To date we can report: the greatest church in the world which bears the name of Saint Nectarios is three storied and has been created at the foot of the mountain of his Convent in Aegina; the first church which was built was in Hania, Crete in 1958, even before the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople officially proclaimed the sanctity of the Blessed Father (1961); the first liturgy in his honor was celebrated in the church of Saint Charalambos of Lachion, Lakonia, in 1952, by the Rev. Father Charalambos Lalousis; the first icon of the Saint was drawn by Blessed Savvas the New of Kalymnos in 1920 at Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina; the first child who took his name is Mrs. Nectaria A. Karastatiras-Dourou from Neapolis Voion, in Lakonia, in June 1936; the first clergyman who at his tonsuring took the name of the Saint is the Archimandrite Nectarios Tsouvalis, the Dean of Annunciation of the Theotokos' church, in Chalkis, Euboia, and the first Bishop who took the name of the Saint is his Eminence Metropolitan Nectarios of Kalymnos.

Until now, in our efforts to register as many as a possible of the benevolent foundations which bear the name of Saint Nectarios

throughout the world, we have reached a total of a hundred and forty-two from various sources. Although we are aware that the catalogue which we publish with the addresses of the churches and the remaining foundations which are honored by the name of Saint Nectarios is incomplete, the reader may obtain a value idea of the extent of the honor granted to the miracle-working Saint. The details have been laid out with the towns in alphabetical order.

2. Churches of Saint Nectarios

1. AFRICA

- a) Kolwezi, Zaire

2. U.S.A.

- a) Covina, California
- b) Paletine, Illinois
- c) Roslindale, Massachusetts
- d) Pasco, Washington
- e) Seattle, Washington

3. AUSTRALIA

- a) Burwood
- b) Fawkner
- c) Rockhampton, Queensland

4. BELGIUM

- a) Mons

5. CANADA

- a) Ottawa, Ontario

6. CYPRUS

- a) Limassol
- b) Chlorakas, Paphos

7. ENGLAND

- a) Battersea, London

8. GERMANY

- a) Ludenscheid
- b) Neus

9. GREECE

- a) Nea Kephissia, Attica
- b) Kephissia, Attica
- c) Panorama, Voula, Attica
- d) Glyphada, Attica
- e) Rizareios Seminary, Chalandri, Attica
- f) Ano Kephissia, Attica
- g) Neo Heracleion, Attica

- h) Kamariza, Lavrio, Attica
- i) Alexandroupolis
- j) Xantos, Aegina
- k) Anogeia, Crete
- l) Edessa
- m) Aghios Constantinos, Aegio
- n) Eleftheroupolis
- o) Chalkis, Euboia
- p) Vasiliko, Chalkis, Euboia
- q) Istiaia, Chalkis, Euboia
- r) Arnaia, Chalkidiki
- s) Nea Madytos, Chalkidiki
- t) Hania, Crete
- u) Souda, Hania, Crete
- v) Mount Provateion, Chios
- w) Moires, Herakleion, Crete
- x) Velanidia, Kalamata
- y) Karpathos
- z) Vogatsiko, Kastoria
- aa) Mesongi, Benitsa, Corfu
- ab) Plemeniana, Kastelion, Kisamos, Crete
- ac) Iasmos, Komotini
- ad) Kiato, Corinth
- ae) Riza, Corinth
- af) Sikyon, Corinth
- ag) Neapolis Voion, Lakonia
- ah) Sykea Molaon, Lakonia
- ai) Aghios Georgios, Lasithi, Crete
- aj) Leros
- ak) Kalloni, Lesvos
- al) Drakoneri, Messenia
- am) Kambos Doxarou, Mylopotamos, Crete
- an) Ambelia Aghiou Vlasiou, Nafpaktos
- ao) Platanitis, Nafpaktos
- ap) Thapsana, Paros, Kyklades
- aq) Chaidari, Nikaia, Piraeus
- ar) Patra, Achaia
- as) Kipoupolis, Peristeri, Attica
- at) Nithavris Amariou, Rethymnon, Crete
- au) Phaliraki, Rhodes
- av) Kontakeika, Samos
- aw) Neochori, Serres
- ax) Siderokastro
- ay) Vlachiotis, Sparta
- az) Syme, Dodecanese
- ba) Thermo, Aetolokarnania

- bb) Ano Toumba, Salonika
- bc) Charilaou, Salonika
- bd) (The prison) Thebes
- be) Tripolis
- bf) Nea Ionia, Volos
- bg) Kremasti, Xanthi

10. NEW ZELAND

- a) Petone

11. RHODESIA

- a) Bloutana

3. Chapels of Saint Nectarios

1. AFRICA

- a) Rirouta, Nairobi, Kenya

2. U.S.A.

- a) Esteban Echevaria, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- b) Campo de Deportes, Peru
- c) Saint Clair Shores, Michigan (Assumption church)

3. CYPRUS

- a) Nicosia (Saint Demetrios church)
- b) Nicosia (Aghia Barbara)

4. GREECE

- a) Xantos, Aegina (Holy Trinity Convent)
- b) Pefkakia, Athens (Saint Nicholas church)
- c) Isavron Avenue, Athens (Charitable Association)
- d) Athens (Military Hospital, N.M.T.S.)
- e) Ilioupolis (Saint Marina church)
- f) Neo Psychiko, Athens (Charitable Association)
- g) Papagos, Athens (Detention Hospital)
- h) Aghios Stephanos, Attica (Military Unit, A.B.Y.P.)
- i) Varnava, Attica (Axion Estin Convent)
- j) Ekale, Attica (Panhellenic Orthodox Union)
- k) Ano Vatheia, Euboea (Saint Nicholas Monastery)
- l) Herakleion, Crete (The Seventh Army Unit)
- m) Kalymnos (Monastery of All Saints)
- n) Tripotamos, Karpenisi, Evrytania (Monastery of Tatarna)
- o) Velo Corinthia, Corinth
- p) Kiato, Corinth (Convent of Panaghia Phaneromene)
- q) Pissia, Corinth
- r) Velvendos, Kozani
- s) Aghia Paraskevi, Lesvos
- t) Antissa, Lesvos
- u) Mithymna, Lesvos
- v) Skoutarou, Lesvos
- w) Philia, Lesvos

- x) Dendropotamos, Neapolis, Salonika (Dormition of the Theotokos church)
- y) Parga, Preveza (The hotel)
- z) Thesi Zervou, Vathy, Samos
- aa) Ormos Marathokambou, Samos
- ab) Serres (Saint Demetrios church)
- ac) Serres (The Farming Education Centre)
- ad) Volos
- ae) Vonitsa, Aetolokarnania

5. SPAIN

- a) Barcelona

4. Monasteries of Saint Nectarios

1. SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA

- a) Croydon Park, Adelaide
- b) Alberton

2. CYPRUS

- a) Nicosia

3. GREECE

- a) Xantos, Aegina
- b) Amaliada, Illeia
- c) Anogeia, Crete
- d) Kerataea, Attica
- e) Gargittos, Attica
- f) Glyfada, Attica
- g) Moraitika, Corfu
- h) Kos
- i) Palaeogratsano, Kozani
- j) Patmos
- k) Loukakia, Patmos
- l) Kryoneri, Rhodes
- m) Theves

5. Remaining Foundations of Saint Nectarios

1. AFRICA

- a) Kolouezi, Zaire
Institution: Surgery

2. U.S.A.

- a) Roslindale, Massachusetts (Saint Nectarios church)
Institution: Hellenic Sunday School, Infant School, Greek-English Languages, Holy Scripture Study, Christian Library

3. U.S.A.

- a) Drive Dianella
Institution: Old People's Home

4. CYPRUS

a) Nicosia

Institution: Infants' Home, Nursery, Old Ladies' Home, Surgery, Chemist, Guest House, Refectories, Lecture Hall, Library, Hagiography, Vestment Tailor, Confessional, Council Chamber

5. GREECE

a) Xantos, Aegina

Institution: Middle Technical School of Mechanics - Electricians, Housewifery School, Ecclesiastical Men's Boarding School, Ecclesiastical Ladies' Boarding School

b) Mesagros, Aegina

Institution: Ecclesiastical Ladies' Encampment

c) Isavron Avenue, Athens

Institution: Charitable Society

d) Terpsithea, Glyphada, Attica

Institution: Old People's Home, Lecture Hall, Icon Manufacturing Workshop

e) Gargittos, Attica (Saint Nectarios Convent)

Institution: Old People's Home for the Needy, Charity Guest-Chambers

f) Hania, Crete

Institution: Refectory for orphan girls, Shelter for the care of elderly Nuns, Spiritual Center, Museum of popular art, School-knitting, cutting, sewing, embroidery, Iconography

g) Kamariza, Lavrio, Attica (Saint Nectarios Monastery)

Institution: Museum of ecclesiastical art, Old People's Home, Orphan Refectory

h) Rethymnon, Crete (Church of the Lady of the Angels)

Institution: Lecture Hall of Saint Nectarios

i) Siderokastron

Institution: Old People's Home, Foundation for incurable children

6. Churches of Saint Nectarios (Old Calendar)

1. U.S.A.

- a) Brooklyn, New York
- b) Seattle, Washington

2. CANADA

- a) Montreal
- b) Toronto
- c) Willowdale, Ontario

7. Monasteries of Saint Nectarios (Old Calendar)

1. GREECE

a) Menidi-Acharnae, Attica

8. Chapels of Saint Nectarios (Old Calendar)

a) Kafsokalyvia Desert, The Holy Mountain, Athos

b) Holy Mount, Athos (Saint Paul Xeropotamenos Monastery)

c) Phyle-Chasia, Attica (Saints Cyprian and Justina Monastery)

9. Saint Nectarios Printers - Book shop

1. U.S.A.

a) Seattle, Washington

10. Saint Nectarios Hotel

1. GREECE

a) Parga, Preveza

11. Saint Nectarios Streets

1. GREECE

a) Aegalaio, Attica

b) Marousi, Attica

c) Ano Liosia, Attica

d) Glyphada, Attica

e) Halandri, Attica

f) Herakleion, Attica

g) Metamorphosi, Attica

h) Kamatero, Attica

i) Kephissia, Attica

j) Nea Liosia, Attica

k) Nea Chalcedona, Attica

l) Nikaea, Piraeus

m) Korydallos, Piraeus

n) Moschato, Attica

o) Perama, Piraeus

p) Evosmo, Salonika

q) Polichni, Salonika

r) Volos

s) Patra

12. Statistic List of Benevolent Foundations named after Saint Nectarios

Foundation Descriptions

Totals

1. Religious Institutions

a) Churches	85
b) Chapels	41
c) Monasteries	17
d) Surgeries	2
e) Nurseries	2
f) Kindergartens	1
g) Old People's Homes	7
h) Orphans' Refectories	2
i) Foundation for Incurable Children	1
j) Chemist	1
k) Educational Schools	15
l) Ecclesiastical Boarding Houses	2
m) Ecclesiastical Camp	1
n) Charity Guest-Chambers	2
o) Spiritual Centers	6
p) Book shops-Printers	3
q) Museums - Ecclesiastical - Popular Art	2
r) Hotel	1
Streets named after Saint Nectarios	20

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Cairo, August 3, 1888.
Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1874–1896), No. 1608, p. 230.

59. *To John Chiotis in Louxor.*
Cairo, November 3/15, 1888.
Patriarchal Library of Cairo.

60. *To Zaphieris in Menia.*
Cairo, November 5, 1888.
Patriarchal Library of Cairo.

61. *To K. Alipheris in Menia.*
Cairo, November 19, 1888.
Archives of the Patriarchal Library in Alexandria.

62. *To the Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai in Mount Sinai.*
Cairo, April 21, 1889.
Archive of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "Εσωτερικός φάκελλος 24, Κάιρον 1867–1890–5(1886) Κορνήλιος".

63. *To the President of the Greek Community in Alexandria, George Averof, in Alexandria.*
Cairo, May 23, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 36.

64. *To the Archbishop Sophronios of Cyprus in Cyprus.*
Port-Said, August 31, 1889.
Tellyrides, A. "Ανέκδοτη ἐπιστολή τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρός τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Κύπρου Σωφρόνιο," *Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας (Cyprus)* 4 (May, 1980) 207-210.

65. *To the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Cairo, September 16, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 149.

66. *To the Consul of Tynis in Tynis.*
Cairo, May 9, 1890.
Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1874–1896), No. 1675, p. 236.

67. *To the Greek Orthodox Community in Vegcha.*
Cairo, May 12, 1890.
Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1874–1896), No. 1677, p. 237.

68. *To the Patriarch Gerasimos of Antioch in Antioch.*
Cairo, May 23, 1890.
Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1874–1896), No. 1680, p. 237.

69. *To the Consul of Greece in Cairo.*
Cairo, May 23, 1890.
Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καΐρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1874–1896), No. 1681, p. 237.

70. *To Mr. A. Zarakides in Cairo.*
Cairo, June 9/21, 1890.

Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καίρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν' Ορθοδόξων (1874–1896), No. 1685, p. 238.

71. *To the Metropolitan Methodios the 1st of Syros in Syros.*
Cairo, June 26, 1890.
Πρωτόκολλον τοῦ ἐν Καίρῳ Πατριαρχείου τῶν' Ορθοδόξων (1874–1896), No. 1687, p. 238.

72. *To the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
Kyme of Euboea, 1893.
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73. *To the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
Lamia, November 11, 1893.
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74. *To the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
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75. *To the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
Athens (Rizareios Seminary), March 9, 1894.
Triantaphyllakis, G. "Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως,"
Πάνταινος (Alexandria) 21/22 (November 1, 1961) 298.

76. *To the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
Athens (Rizareios Seminary), April 6, 1894.
Triantaphyllakis, G. "Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως,"
Πάνταινος (Alexandria) 21/22 (November 1, 1961) 297.

77. *To the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
Athens, March 11, 1895.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως
(1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 50-51.

78. *To the Metropolitan Germanos (Kalligas) of Athens in Athens.*
Athens, November 17, 1895.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως
(1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 173.

79. *To the executors of Andreas Syngros' last will, Mr. Mr. A. Nomikos, G. D. Antonopoulos, & N. Frangoulis, in Athens.*
Athens, March 3, 1899.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως
(1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 67-68.

80. *To P. Aurelio Palmieri in Constantinople.*
Athens, November 12, 1899.
Βιβλίον' Αλληλογραφίας δεύτερον Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Εκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς,
Ἀριθ. 801.

81. *To the Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine and to His Venerable and Holy Synod in Constantinople.*
Alexandria, November 1899.
"Διατριβαί," Τηλέγραφος (Alexandria) 5770 (November 10/22, 1899) 2.

82. *To the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
Athens, March 23, 1901.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File "Πατριάρχης Φώτιος".

83. *To the Elder Pachomios in Chios.*
Athens, May 15, 1902.
Yannakopoulou, B. "'Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως ἐπιστολαί πρός τὸν Γέροντα
Παχώμιον," Εφημέριος (Athens) 41 (April 15 - May 1, 1992) 121.

84. *To the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
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Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως
(1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 52-53.

85. *To the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
Athens, November 27, 1902.

Βιβλίον' Άλληλογραφίας πρώτον Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς,
p. 337.

86. *To the Elder Daniel in Katounakia, Mount Athos.*

Athens, March 30, 1903.

Elder Daniel Katounakiotis, "Ἐπιστολαί τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρός τὸν Γέροντα Δανιὴλ," Ἀγγελικός Βίος (Thessaloniki: Ἐκδόσεις Μοναστικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Δανιηλαίων, 1982) 177-179. See also, Monk Daniel (Ikonographer), "Ἐπιστολή τῷ Οσιολογιωτάτῳ Πατρὶ Δανιὴλ. Εἰς Κατουνάκια Ἀγίου Ὁρους," Ἐπιστολογραφία τοῦ Ὀσιωτάτου Πατρὸς Δανιὴλ Σμυρναίου, Ἀγιογράφου, τοῦ ἐν Κατουνακίοις Ἀγίου Ὁρους Ἀθω (Mount Athos, 1914) 78-81.

87. *To the Elder Pachomios in Chios.*

Athens, June 23, 1903.

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88. *To the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd in Constantinople.*

Athens, September 10, 1903.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 54-55.

89. *To the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd in Constantinople.*

Athens, May 11, 1904.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἔτους 1904 τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, No. 3660, p. 176.

90. *To the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Athens.*

Athens, June 18, 1904.

Βιβλίον' Άλληλογραφίας δεύτερον Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς, p. 408.

91. *To the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd in Constantinople.*

Athens, July 3, 1904.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἔτους 1904 τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, p. 249.

92. *To the Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, September 19, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί ἐπιστολαί πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 25.

93. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, October 19, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί ἐπιστολαί πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 26-28.

94. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, October 27, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί ἐπιστολαί πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 29-31.

95. *To Chrysanthi (Xeni) and Katina (Kassiani) in Aegina.*

Athens, November 2, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί ἐπιστολαί πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 32-33.

96. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, November 25, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί ἐπιστολαί πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 34-36.

97. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, December 8, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί ἐπιστολαί πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 37-40.

98. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, December 13, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί ἐπιστολαί πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 41-44.

99. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, December 15, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 45-47.

100. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, December 29, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 48-49.

101. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, January 11, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 50-51.

102. *To Katina in Aegina.*

Athens, January 28, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 52-53.

103. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Covenant in Aegina.*

Athens, February 8, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 54-56.

104. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, February 14, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 57-59.

105. *To Aekaterine in Aegina.*

Athens, March 7, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 60-62.

106. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, March 14, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 63-64.

107. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, April 6, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 65-66.

108. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, April 25, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 67.

109. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, May 17, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 68.

110. *To Aekaterine in Aegina.*

Athens, April 25, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 69-72.

111. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, June 21, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 73-74.

112. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, August 25, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 75-76.

113. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, September 13, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 77.

114. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, September 16, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 78.

115. *To Kasiani in Aegina.*

Athens, September 19, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 79.

116. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 20, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 80.

117. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 23, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 81-82.

118. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 24, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 83.

119. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 27, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 84.

120. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 5, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 85.

121. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 14, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 86-87.

122. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 24, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 88-89.

123. *To a Sister of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, October 25, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 90.

124. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 31, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 91-92.

125. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 1, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 93-95.

126. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 2, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 96.

127. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Fathers Skete in Chios.*

Athens, November 2, 1905.

Yannakopoulou, B. "Αγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως παραμυθητική επιστολή διά τόν θάνατον τοῦ φίλου καὶ Γέροντος Παχωμίου," *Έφημέριος* (Athens) 34 (December 1/15, 1986) 359-360.

128. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 11, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 97-99.

129. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 14, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 100-101.

130. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 16, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 102.

131. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 22, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 103-105.

132. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 1, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 106-109.

133. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 5, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 110-113.

134. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 8, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 114-115.

135. *To Kasiani in Aegina.*

Athens, January 8, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 116.

136. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 21, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 121.

137. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 26, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 122.

138. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 31, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 123.

139. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 2, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 124.

140. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 7, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. *Άγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ιεράς Μονῆς Αγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης* (Athens, 1984) 125-126.

141. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 11, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 127.

142. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 22, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 128.

143. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 28, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 129.

144. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, March 10, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 131.

145. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, March 27, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 132-135.

146. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, March 30, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 136.

147. *To the Meyer Nicholas Peppas in Aegina.*

Athens, March 30, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 136.

148. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, April 15, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 137.

149. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, April 28, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 138.

150. *To the Abbess Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, April 30, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 139.

151. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 8, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 140.

152. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 13, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 141-142.

153. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 23, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 143.

154. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 25, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 144.

155. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 27, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 145.

156. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, June 9, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 146.

157. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, June 17, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 147.

158. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, August 31, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 148.

159. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 12, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 149.

160. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 150-151.

161. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 28, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 152-153.

162. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 13, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 154-155.

163. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 23, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 156.

164. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 27, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 157.

165. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 31, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 158-159.

166. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 6, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 160.

167. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 11, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 161.

168. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 15, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 162.

169. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 22, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 163.

170. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 24, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 164-165.

171. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 27, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 166.

172. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 5, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 167-168.

173. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 10, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 169.

174. *To Kassiani in Aegina.*

Athens, December 10, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 170.

175. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 14, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 171.

176. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 14, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 172.

177. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 22, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 173.

178. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, December 28, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 174.

179. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 3, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 175.

180. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 5, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 176-177.

181. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 15, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 178-179.

182. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 22, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 180.

183. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, January 24, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 181-183.

184. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 2, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 184-185.

185. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 8, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 186.

186. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 14, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 187-188.

187. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 20, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 189.

188. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, February 27, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 190.

189. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, March 3, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 191.

190. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, March 13, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 192-196.

191. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, March 26, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 197-199.

192. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, April 13, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 200-201.

193. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 3, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 202.

194. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 9, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 203.

195. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 14, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 204.

196. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, May 27, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 205-206.

197. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, June 12, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 207.

198. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, August 27, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 208.

199. *To the Abbess Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, August 30, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 209.

200. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 5, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 210-211.

201. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 17, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 212-215.

202. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, September 26, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 216-217.

203. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 6, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 218-219.

204. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 8, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 220.

205. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 16, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 221.

206. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*

Athens, October 21, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 222-223.

207. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, October 28, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 224-225.

208. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 7, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 226.

209. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 15, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 227-230.

210. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 17, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 231.

211. *To Xeni in Aegina.*

Athens, November 23, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 232.

212. *To the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.*
Athens, December 5, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 233-236.

213. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, December 13, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 237.

214. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, December 17, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 238-239.

215. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, December 21, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 240-241.

216. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, December 26, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 242-243.

217. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, January 14, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 244-245.

218. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, January 17, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 246.

219. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, January 22, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 247.

220. *To the Elder Daniel in Katounakia, Mount Athos.*
Athens, January 26, 1908.

Elder Daniel Katounakiotis, "Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρός τὸν Γέροντα Δανιὴλ," Ἀγγελικός Βίος (Thessaloniki: Ἐκδόσεις Μοναστικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Δανιηλαίων, 1982) 182-183.

221. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, February 8, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 248-249.

222. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, February 15, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 250-251.

223. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, February 20, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 252.

224. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, March 4, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 253.

225. *To Xeni in Aegina.*
Athens, March 8, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἅγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 254.

226. To Xeni in Aegina.

Athens, March 17, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἅγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 255.

227. To Kassiani in Aegina.

Athens, March 17, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἅγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 256.

228. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, May 17, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 179.

229. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, June 5, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 180.

230. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, August 10, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 180-181.

231. To the Elder Daniel in Katounakia, Mount Athos.

Athens, August 18, 1908.

Archim. Cherubim, Ἐπιστολαί τοῦ Ἅγιον Νεκταρίου πρός τὸν Γέροντα Δανιήλ, Σύγχρονες Ἀγιορείτικες μορφές – Δανιήλ ὁ Κατουνάκιώτης (Athens, 1979) 182.

232. To Xeni in Aegina.

Athens, December 10, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἅγιον Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 257-259.

233. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, January 19, 1909.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 182-183.

234. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, February 2, 1909.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 183.

235. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Xantos/Aegina, March 16, 1909.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 183-184.

236. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, March 20, 1909.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 184.

237. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, April 24, 1909.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 184-185.

238. To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.

Aegina, May 1, 1909.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 185.

239. To the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria in Alexandria.

Athens, 1909.

Εύρετήριον Α' δωρεῶν συγγραμμάτων πρός τήν Α.Θ. Μακαριότητα, τόν Πατριάρχην
'ΑλεξανδρείαςΦώτιον,pp. 22-23.

240. *To P. Meletios Zesonis in Grottaferrata.*

All Holy Trinity Convent/Aegina, July 20, 1910.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 83-85. See also, Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, ABG.G, LIX/I B. O. See also, G. M. Croce, "Nettario di Egina a la Plana," *La Badia Greca di Grottaferrata e la Rivista 'Roma e l'Oriente'* (Vatican) 2 (1990) 521-523.

241. *To P. Meletios Zesonis in Grottaferrata.*

All Holy Trinity Convent/Aegina, December 26, 1910.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, A B G G, LIX/I B. P. See also, G. M. Croce, "Nettario di Egina a la Plana," *La Badia Greca di Grottaferrata e la Rivista 'Roma e l'Oriente'* (Vatican) 2 (1990) 584-586.

242. *To Constantine Sakkopoulos in Athens.*

Aegina, January 31, 1911.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 185-186.

243. *To P. Meletios Zesonis in Grottaferrata.*

All Holy Trinity Convent/Aegina, March 12, 1911.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, A B G G, LIX/I B. O. See also, G. M. Croce, "Nettario di Egina a la Plana," *La Badia Greca di Grottaferrata e la Rivista 'Roma e l'Oriente'* (Vatican) 2 (1990) 761-762.

244. *To the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople.*

Aegina, March 20, 1911.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1911 , No. 240, p. 134-135.

245. *To P. Meletios Zesonis in Grottaferrata.*

All Holy Trinity Convent/Aegina, April 11, 1911.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, A B G G, LIX/I B. O. See also, G. M. Croce, "Nettario di Egina a la Plana," *La Badia Greca di Grottaferrata e la Rivista 'Roma e l'Oriente'* (Vatican) 2 (1990) 762.

246. *To the Counselors of Rizareios Eccl. Seminary in Athens.*

All Holy Trinity Convent/Aegina, June 6, 1912.

Archives of Rizareios Seminary (1154/10.6.912, No. 10).

247. *To P. Meletios Zesonis in Grottaferrata.*

All Holy Trinity Convent/Aegina, 1912.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery.

248. *To the Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens and President of the Sacred Synod in Athens.*

Aegina, August 7, 1913.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 140-141.

249. *To the Elder Daniel in Katounakia, Mount Athos.*

Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina, August 18, 1913.

Elder Daniel Katounakiotis, "'Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρός τόν Γέροντα Δανιήλ," *Ἀγγελικός Βίος* (Thessaloniki: Ἐκδόσεις Μοναστικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Δανιηλαίων, 1982) 179-180.

250. *To the Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens and President of the Sacred Synod in Athens.*

Aegina, June 20, 1914.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 142-143.

251. *To the Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens and President of the Sacred Synod in Athens.*

Aegina, October 10, 1914.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 146-148.

252. *To the Elder Daniel in Katounakia, Mount Athos.*

Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina, Nonember 6, 1915.

Archim. Cherubim, "Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος καὶ ὁ γερο-Δανιήλ," Σύγχρονες Αγιορέπικες μορφές – Δανιήλ ὁ Κατουνακιώτης (Athens: Εκδόσεις Ι. Μονῆς Παρακλήτου, 1985) 83.

253. *To the Elder Daniel in Katounakia, Mount Athos.*

Athens, December 6, 1915.

Elder Daniel Katounakiotis, "Ἐπιστολαί τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρός τόν Γέροντα Δανιήλ," Ἀγγελικός Βίος (Thessaloniki: Εκδόσεις Μοναστικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Δανιηλαίων, 1982) 180-181.

254. *To the Sacred Synod of Greece in Athens.*

Aegina, March 2, 1918.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 154-155.

255. *To the Ministry of Ecclesiastics and Public Education in Athens.*

Aegina, March 2, 1918.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 156-157.

256. *To Archimandrite Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Dean of Rizareios Ecclesiastical Seminary in Athens.*

All Holy Trinity Convent/Aegina, May 14, 1919.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 195-196.

257. *To the Monk Chrysostom, Librarian of Xenophontos Monastery, in Mount Athos.*

Undated.

Ἐπιστολάριον Μέγα τῆς Ἱερᾶς καὶ Σεβασμίας Κοινοβίου Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου Ξενοφώντος, τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πανενδόξῳ Μεγαλομάρτυρι καὶ Τροπαιοφόρῳ Ἀγίῳ Γεωργίῳ σεμνηνομένης 82-83.

258. *To the Metropolitan Spyridon of Cephallonia.*

Undated.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 176-178.

259. *To Monk Ioasaf in Mount Athos.*

Undated.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 187-188.

260. *To a Monk.*

Undated.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920) (Athens, 1985) 191-192.

261. *To Nun Eusebia.*

Undated.

Metr. N. Kephalas, "Ἐπιστολιμαία διατριβή πρός Εὐσεβία Μοναχήν," Τό γνωθι σαντόν ἡτοι μελέται θρησκευτικαὶ καὶ ἥθικαὶ (Athens: Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1973) 242-258.

2) Letters to Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis

1. *From the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*

Cairo, July 23, 1886.

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 150.

2. *From the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*

Cairo, August 21, 1886.

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 150.

3. *From Selim Kalergis.*

Cairo, October 2/14, 1886.

Archives of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "Εσωτερικός Φάκ. 24, Κάιρον 1867-1890, Αριθ. 1476".

4. *From the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria.*
 Leros, September 13, 1887.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.

5. *From the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevai in Alexandria.*
 Cairo, August 12, 1887.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 150.

6. *From the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria.*
 Alexandria, July 29, 1888.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 114.

7. *From Doctor D. Mazarakis.*
 Assiout, August 6/18, 1888.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 282.

8. *From John Chiotis.*
 Louxor, November 14/26, 1888.
 Patriarchal Library of Cairo.

9. *From Zaphieris.*
 Menia, November 19, 1888.
 Patriarchal Library of Cairo.

10. *From Priest Andreas Ioannou.*
 Vegha, December 14/26, 1888.
 Patriarchal Library of Cairo.

11. *From the Patriarch Gerasimos of Antioch.*
 Damascus, February 7, 1889.
 Metr. Matthaikis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 107-108.

12. *From George Averof, President of the Greek Community of Alexandria.*
 Alexandria, May 10, 1889.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 36.

13. *First Patriarchal Communication of Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria.*
 Cairo, May 3, 1890.
 Metr. Matthaikis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 46.

14. *Second Patriarchal Communication of Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria.*
 Alexandria, July 11, 1890.
 Metr. Matthaikis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 46.

15. *Metropolitan Nectarios' Dismissal Letter.*
 Alexandria, July 11, 1890.
 Metr. Matthaikis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 46.

16. *From the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo.*
 Cairo, July 29, 1890.
 Metr. Matthaikis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 56.

17. *From the Episcopal Committee of Chalkis, Nicholas Zapheiropoulos, Panteleon Tsallis and George Pharmakides.*
 Chalkis/Euboia, July 2, 1892.
 L. Pavlou, Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως ώς Ιεροκήρυκας Εύβοίας (Chalkis, Euboia, 1989) 11-13.

18. *From the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria.*
 Alexandria, September 9, 1893.
 Πρωτόκολλον εισερχομένων και εξερχομένων επιστολών Πατριάρχου Αλεξανδρείας, ανξ. αρ. 180, σελ. 82.

19. *From the Meyer of Kyme, K. Sarafianos.*
 Kymi/Euboia, September 10, 1893.
 Metr. Matthaikis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 59.

20. *From the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria.*

Alexandria, March 2, 1894.

Πρωτόκολλον εισερχομένων και εξερχομένων επιστολών Πατριάρχου Αλεξανδρείας, αυξ. αρ. 53, σελ. 85.

21. *From the Elders Council of Lithi-port.*

Chios, February 12, 1896.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 65-66.

22. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine the 5th.*

Constantinople, September 25, 1898.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 73-74.

23. *From the Lithinomousioi of Constantinople.*

Constantinople, February 20, 1899.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 66-67.

24. *From P. Aurelio Palmieri De L' Assomptio.*

Grottaferrata, 1899.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 78-79.

25. *From the Anglican Priest Arthur Baker.*

Portland of England, January 1, 1900.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 77-78.

26. *From the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem.*

Mylopotamos/Mount Athos, April 14, 1901.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 106-107.

27. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd.*

Constantinople, May 5, 1901.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 105.

28. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd.*

Constantinople, February 11, 1903.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1903, No. 1143, p. 147-148. See also, Metr. Matthaiakis, T. 'Ο "Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 106.

29. *From the Elder Daniel Katounakiotis.*

Mount Athos, March 7, 1903.

Monk Daniel (Ikonographer), "Ἐπιστολή τῷ Πανιερολογιωτάτῳ Ἀγίῳ Πενταπόλεως Κυρίῳ Κῷ Νεκταρίῳ Κεφαλᾷ, Διευθυντῇ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς Εἰς Ἀθήνας," Ἐπιστολογραφία τοῦ Ὁσιωτάτου Πατρός Δανιήλ Σμυρναίου, Ἀγιογράφου, τοῦ ἐν Κατουνακίοις Ἀγίου Ὄρους Ἀθω (Mount Athos, 1914) 28-34.

30. *From the Elder Daniel Katounakiotis.*

Mount Athos/Katounakia, June 5, 1903.

Monk Daniel (Ikonographer), "Ἐπιστολή τῷ Πανιερολογιωτάτῳ Μητροπολίτῃ Ἀγίῳ Πενταπόλεως Κῷ Κῷ Νεκταρίῳ, Διευθυντῇ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς. Εἰς Ἀθήνας," Ἐπιστολογραφία τοῦ Ὁσιωτάτου Πατρός Δανιήλ Σμυρναίου, Ἀγιογράφου, τοῦ ἐν Κατουνακίοις Ἀγίου Ὄρους Ἀθω (Mount Athos, 1914) 82-84.

31. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd.*

Constantinople, October 25, 1903.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1903 (A/75), No. 378, p. 469.

32. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd.*

Constantinople, May 31, 1904.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1904, No. 3660, p. 176.

33. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd.*

Constantinople, July 28, 1904.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1904, p. 249.

34. *From P. Arsenios, the Abbot of Grottaferrata Monastery.*

Grottaferrata, October 9, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 76.

35. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, November 10, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 37.

36. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, December 8, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 45.

37. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, December 25, 1904.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 48.

38. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, January 31, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 54.

39. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, March 8, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 63.

40. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, March 12, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 63.

41. *From Monk Ioasaf Hagioritan.*

Saint Anna/Mount Athos, June 1, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 204.

42. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, June 12, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 73.

43. *From Xeni.*

Aegina, September 8, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 80.

44. *From Kasiani.*

Aegina, September 19, 1905.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 79.

45. *From Xeni.*

Aegina, January 5, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 114.

46. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, January 25, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 123.

47. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, February 18, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί Επιστολαί πρός τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 141.

48. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, May 2, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 127.

49. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, May 4, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 127.

50. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, May 10, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 128.

51. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, June 7, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 146.

52. *From the Community of Lithilimin.*

Chios, October 26, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μήτροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 68.

53. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, November 3, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 160.

54. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, November 8, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 164.

55. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, December 31, 1906.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 176.

56. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, January 2/16, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 180.

57. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, February 11, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 187.

58. *From Xeni.*

Aegina, February 19, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 190.

59. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, March 8, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 192.

60. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, March 23, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 197.

61. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, March 24, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αιγίνης (Athens, 1984) 197.

62. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, April 7, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 200.

63. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, May 12, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 204.

64. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, May 18, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 205.

65. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, September 1, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 210.

66. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, September 10, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 212.

67. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, September 14, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 212.

68. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, September 22, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 216.

69. *From Xeni.*

Aegina, September 30, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 218.

70. *From Xeni.*

Aegina, October 1, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 218.

71. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, October 11, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 221.

72. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, October 26, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 224.

73. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, November 20, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 232.

74. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, November 30, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 233.

75. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, December 13, 1907.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαί' Επιστολαί πρός τάς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 242.

76. *From the Elder Daniel Katounakiotis.*

Mount Athos, December 27, 1907.

Elder Daniel Katounakiotis, "Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρὸς τὸν Γέροντα Δανιήλ," Ἄγγελικός Βίος (Thessaloniki: Ἐκδόσεις Μοναστικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Δανιηλαίων, 1982) 182.

77. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, January 12, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 247.

78. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, January 17, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 247.

79. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, February 28, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 253.

80. *From the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent.*

Aegina, March 6, 1908.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου Πενταπόλεως Κατηχητικαὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὰς Μοναχάς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος Αἰγίνης (Athens, 1984) 2254.

81. *From Meletios Zesonis.*

Grottaferrata, July 18, 1910.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 82-83. See also, Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, No. 33, LIX/I, B. P.

82. *From Heromonk Arsenios.*

Grottaferrata, September 30, 1910.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 85.

83. *From Meletios Zesonis.*

Grottaferrata, December 5, 1910.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, No. 38, JERB, LIX/I, B. P.

84. *From Meletios Zesonis.*

Grottaferrata, December 14, 1910.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, A B G G, LIX/I B. P. See also, G. M. Croce, "Nettario di Egina a la Plana," *La Badia Greca di Grottaferrata e la Rivista 'Roma e l'Oriente'* (Vatican) 2 (1990) 584-586.

85. *From Meletios Zesonis.*

Grottaferrata, December 27, 1910.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, N L R, ZERC, LIX/I, B. P.

86. *From Meletios Zesonis.*

Grottaferrata, January 29, 1911.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, N 48, ZIN, C, I.

87. *From Meletios Zesonis.*

Grottaferrata, March 6, 1911.

Archives of Grottaferrata Monastery, 59/D, LIX/I, B. P.

88. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd.*

Constantinople, March 21, 1911.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1911, No. 240, p. 134-135.

See also, Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 75.

89. *From the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd.*

Constantinople, June 14, 1911.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1911, No. 5482, p. 265.

See also, Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 75-76.

90. *From the Priest Seraphim Fokas.*

Sidney of Australia, July 18/31, 1911.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 201-203.

91. *From Monk Avimelech Bonakis.*
Mount Athos, April 4, 1913.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 212-213.

92. *From Monk Ioasaf Hagioritan.*
Saint Anna/Mount Athos, April 4, 1913.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 205.

93. *From Monk Ioasaf Hagioritan.*
Saint Anna/Mount Athos, September 4, 1913.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 206.

94. *From Monk Ioasaf Hagioritan.*
Saint Anna/Mount Athos, February 25, 1914.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 207.

95. *From the Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens.*
Athens, September 9, 1914.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 114-115.

96. *From Monk Ioasaf Hagioritan.*
Saint Anna/Mount Athos, October 1, 1914.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 208.

97. *From Monk Ioasaf Hagioritan.*
Saint Anna/Mount Athos, June 23, 1915.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 209.

98. *From Monk Ioasaf Hagioritan.*
Saint Anna/Mount Athos, September 23, 1915.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 210-211.

99. *From the Elder Daniel Katounakiotis.*
Mount Athos, November 30, 1915.
Elder Daniel Katounakiotis, "Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου πρὸς τὸν Γέροντα Δανιὴλ," Ἀγγελικός Βίος (Thessaloniki: Ἐκδόσεις Μοναστικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Δανιηλαίων, 1982) 180.

100. *From the Bishop Timotheos of Kalavryta and Aegialeia.*
January 16, 1918.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 199.

101. *From Archimandrite Panteleimon Fostinis.*
Peraeus, November 24, 1918.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 200.

102. *From Archimandrite Chrysostom Papadopoulos.*
Athens, May 9, 1919.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 194.

103. *From Constantine Sakkopoulos.*
Athens, January 2, 1920.
Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 217.

104. *From Heromonk Athanasios Danielidis.*
Katounakia/Mount Athos, September 30,

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ό Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 214-216.

3) Letters Referring to Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis

1. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Ignatios of Libya.*
Leros, August 19, 1884.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 126.
2. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Ignatios of Libya.*
Chios, September 28, 1885.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 126.
3. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Cairo, August 7, 1886.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.
4. *Metropolitan Ignatios of Libya' Dismissal Letter.*
Alexandria, August 12, 1886.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.
5. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Committee of the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo.*
Alexandria, August 26, 1886.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 121.
6. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Leros, September 13, 1886.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.
7. *Meliades' letter to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Cairo, August 26, 1887.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria.
8. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Minia of Egypt, September 15, 1887.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria.
10. *Germanos I. Vourlides' letter to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Port-Said, December 17, 1887.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria.
11. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Cairo, February 4, 1888.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.
12. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Matthaios of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Cairo, February 14, 1888.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 122.
13. *Hierodeacons Porphyrios and Nicodemos' letter to the Exarch of Sacred Monastery of Saint Catherine Archimandrite Anthimos and Oikonomos Evgenios in Sinai.*
Tzouvana, Cairo, 1888.
Archives of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "Τζουβανία 3, αρ. 226".
14. *Hierodeacons Porphyrios and Nicodemos' letter to the Exarch of Sacred Monastery of Saint Catherine Archimandrite Anthimos and Oikonomos Evgenios in Sinai.*
Tzouvana Cairo, August, 1888.

Archives of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "Tzouvania, no. 244".

15. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to Naseph.*
Leros, August 1/14, 1888.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 114.

16. *Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai's letter to the Archimandrite Cornelios.*
Alexandria, November 9, 1888.
Archives of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "2, Αλεξάνδρεια 1868–1899, αρ. 273".

17. *Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai's letter to the sideboard keeper of Sacred Monastery of Sinai Archimandrite Gregorios.*
Cairo, November 14, 1888.
Archives of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "2, Π. Κάιρο 1882–1929, αρ. 41–2".

18. *Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai's letter to the "Πανοσιολογιώτατον", a member of Sinaiitic Brotherhood.*
Cairo, January 12, 1889.
Archives of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "2, Π. Κάιρο 1882–1929, αρ. 56–2".

19. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Priest Seraphim Fokas.*
Cairo, January 16, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 114.

20. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to A. Lyddes.*
Alexandria, January 25, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 114.

21. *Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai's letter to the "Πανοσιολογιώτατον", a member of Sinaiitic Brotherhood.*
Cairo, February 2, 1889.
Archives of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "2, Π. Κάιρο 1882–1929, αρ. 52/6".

22. *Priest Michail Erodiades' letter to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Sikel, May 4, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 152.

23. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Leros, August 25, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 123.

24. *M. Hanides' letter to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Cairo, August 26, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 152.

25. *Archdeacon Constantine Pagones' letter to the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Leros.*
Alexandria, September 2, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 283.

26. *Priest Seraphim Fokas' letter to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Port-Said, September 10, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 152.

27. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones.*
Leros, September 28, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 132.

28. *Priest Seraphim Fokas' letter to the Metropolitan Germanos of Thevais in Alexandria.*
Port-Said, December 19, 1889.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 152.

29. *Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai's letter to the Archimandrite Cornelios.*
Alexandria, May 12, 1890.
Archive of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "2, Αλεξάνδρεια 1868–1899, αρ. 287".

30. *Priest Seraphim Fokas' letter to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones in Alexandria.*
Port-Said, May 15, 1890.
E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 234.

31. *Metropolitan Germanos of Thevai's letter to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones in Alexandria.*
 Cairo, May 29, 1890.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 234.

32. *Metropolitan Germanos of Thevai's letter to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones in Alexandria.*
 Cairo, July 15, 1890.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 234.

33. *Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai's letter to the Dikaios of the Monastery of Sinai, Chanselor Gerasimos.*
 Alexandria, July 18, 1890.
 Archive of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "2, Αλεξάνδρεια 1868–1899, αρ. 322".

34. *Priest Seraphim Fokas' letter to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones in Alexandria.*
 Port-Said, July 27, 1890.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 234.

35. *Archbishop Porphyrios the 1st of Sinai's letter to the Archimandrite Cornelios.*
 Alexandria, October 16, 1890.
 Archive of Sacred Monastery Sinai, File "2, Αλεξάνδρεια 1868–1899, αρ. 320".

36. *Kyriakos Tsakoukis' letter to the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
 Athens, January 25/6, 1891.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 285.

37. *Chancellor Dorotheos' letter to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones in Alexandria.*
 Cairo, July 21, 1892.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 237.

38. *Minister of Greek Foreign Affairs' letter to the Political Agencies in Turkey.*
 Athens, April 15, 1893.
 Archives of Foreign Affairs of Greece.

39. *Political Agent of Greece in Egypt, John Gryparis' letter to the Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria in Alexandria.*
 Alexandria, April, 1893.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 242.

40. *Political Agent of Greece in Egypt, John Gryparis' letter to the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs in Greece, Demetrios Kallifronas.*
 Alexandria, January 28, 1894.
 Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 48-49.

41. *Patriarch Sophronios of Alexandria's letter to the Archdeacon Constantine Pagones in Alexandria.*
 Cairo, December 10, 1897.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 132.

42. *Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine the 5th's letter to the Overseers and Representatives of Holy Mountain Community in Athos.*
 Constantinople, May 30, 1898.
 Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 71.

43. *Mount Athos Monastic Community's letter to the twenty Holy Monasteries of Holy Mountain.*
 Kariai/Athos, July 30, 1898.
 Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 72.

44. *S. Pizakis' letter to the Vicar of the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria Meletios Apostolopoulos in Alexandria.*
 Fayoum of Egypt, December 20, 1899.
 E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 153.

45. *S. Pizakis' letter to the Vicar of the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria Meletios Apostolopoulos in Alexandria.*
 Fayoum of Egypt, January 4, 1900.

E.L.I.A., Archives of Patriarchate of Alexandria, File No. 153.

46. Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd's letter to the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria.

Constantinople, October 25, 1903.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1903 (A/75), No. 378, p. 469.

47. Elder Daniel Katounakiotis' letter to the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.

Mount Athos/Katounakia, 1908.

Monk Daniel (Ikonographer), "Ἐπιστολή περί Μοναχικῆς Κοινοβιακῆς διατυπώσεως ἀποσταλεῖσα τῇ προτροπῇ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πενταπόλεως Ἀρχιερέως κ. Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ, πρός τάς Μοναχάς αὐτοῦ Εἰς Αἴγιναν," Ἐπιστολογραφία τοῦ Ὁσιώτάτου Πατρός Δανιὴλ Σμυρναίου, Ἀγιογράφου, τοῦ ἐν Κατουνακίοις Ἀγίου ὄρους Ἀθω (Mount Athos, 1914) 189-204.

48. Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim the 3rd's letter to the Archimandrite Constantine Pagonis in London.

Constantinople, June 14, 1911.

Κώδιξ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ ἔτους 1911, No. 5482, p. 265.

49. Nomarch of Attica and Voiotia Dasios's letter to the Meyer of Aegina N. S. Peppas. Athens, April 6, 1912.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 160.

50. Certificate for the grant of land of Holy Trinity Monastery to the Metropolitan Nectarios (Kephalas) of Pentapolis by the Municipality of Aegina.

Aegina, April 14, 1912.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 158-159.

51. Abess Xeni's letter to the Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens.

Aegina, October 10, 1914.

Metr. Matthaiakis, T. Ὁ Ἀγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920) (Athens, 1985) 149-153.

52. Elder Daniel Katounakiotis' letter to the Abess Xeni and the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.

Mount Athos, July 8, 1918.

Archim. Cherubim, Σύγχρονες Ἀγιορείτικες μορφές – Δανιὴλ ὁ Κατουνακιώτης (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Ι. Μονῆς Παρακλήτου, 1985) 123-134.

53. Elder Daniel Katounakiotis' letter to the Sisterhood of Holy Trinity Convent in Aegina.

Mount Athos, January 2, 1921.

Elder Daniel Katounakiotis, "Ἐπιστολή Συλλυπητήριος ἀποσταλεῖσα πρός τήν Καθηγουμένην κ. Ξένην τῆς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Ἱερᾶς Γυναικείας Μονῆς, ἐπί τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεκταρίου," Μοναχικά Ἐντρυφήματα (Thessaloniki: , 1982) 39-46.

54. Abess Xeni of Holy Trinity Convent to the Abbot of the Monastery of Gregoriou, Archimandrite Georgios, in Mount Athos.

Aegina, August 17, 1921.

"Παλαιότερη Ἐπιστολή Ξένης μοναχῆς, ἡγουμένης Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγ. Τριάδος Αἰγίνης," Ὁ Οσιος Γρηγόριος (Mount Athos) 9 (1984) 61-62.

4) Articles of Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis

"Μελέτη ἐπί τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ ζῶου," Κέκρωψ (Cairo) 15 (1. 11. 1886) 225-227; 16 (15. 11. 1886) 245-247.

"Περὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν Συνόδων καὶ ἴδιως περὶ τῆς σπουδαιότητος τῶν δύο πρώτων Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων (κεφάλαια τινά ἐκ τῆς ὁμονύμου αὐτοῦ συγγραφῆς)," Κέκρωψ (Cairo) 18 (15. 12. 1886) 273-275.

"Περὶ τῆς συγκρίσεως τῶν Ἱερῶν Συνόδων καὶ τῶν πρός ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν αὐτῶν," Κέκρωψ (Cairo) 19 (1. 1. 1887) 289-291.

"Μελετίου Πηγάδύο ἐπιστολαί," *'Ανάπλασις (Athens)* 6 (1. 11. 1893) 1930-1932.

"Λόγος ἐκφωνηθείς κατά τάς ἐξετάσεις τῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς τήν 16 'Ιουνίου 1894," *'Ανάπλασις (Athens)* 152 (15.8.1894) 2225-2229.

"Ομιλία 1η περί τῆς αἰώνιου ζωῆς καί ὅτι αὕτη εὑρηται ἐν τῇ γνώσει τῆς ἀποκαλυφθείσης ἀληθείας" *'Ανάπλασις (Athens)* 7 (1894) 1279; 15 (1.10.1894) 2279-2282.

"Τά αἴτια τῆς ἀπιστίας," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 6 (22.12.1894) 4.

"Κυριακή τῆς Ορθοδοξίας," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 14 (16.2.1895) 2-3.

"Η εἰκὼν τοῦ πιστοῦ," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 14 (16.2.1895) 2-3.

"Η ἀγωγὴ τῶν παίδων καὶ αἱ μητέρες," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 26 (18.5.1895) 1-2; 27 (25.5.1895) 2.

"Περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καὶ ὅτι ἡ μὲν φρονήσεως, ἡ δέ ἀφροσύνης ἔστιν ἔργον," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 29 (8.6.1895) 2.

"Προσλαλιά ἐπί τῇ ἐνάρξει τῶν ἐξετάσεων ἐν τῇ Ριζαρείω Σχολῇ," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 29 (28.6.1895) 2.

"Περί τῶν αἰτιῶν τῆς αὐτοκτονίας καὶ τῶν μέσων τῆς θεραπείας," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 42 (7.9.1895) 3; 43 (14.9.1895) 3-4.

"Προσφώνησις γενομένη ἐπί τῇ ἐνάρξει τῶν μαθημάτων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς τῇ 18 Σεπτεμβρίου 1895," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 44 (21.9.1895) 2; Reprinted by Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο Αγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)* (Athens, 1985) 174-175.

"Ποιμαντικά 'Ομιλίαι: Α' Περί τῆς Πολιτείας τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου κατά τούς Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 50 (2.11.1895) 4; 51 (9.11.1895) 1-2; 52 (16.11.1895) 2.

"Περί τῶν αἰτιῶν τοῦ Σχίσματος καὶ περί τοῦ δυνατοῦ ἢ ἀδυνάτου τῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 53 (23.11.1895) 1-2; 54 (30.11.1895) 1-2; 55 (7.12.1895) 1-2; 56 (14.12.1895) 2; 57 (21.12.1895) 2; 58 (28.12.1895) 2; 59 (4.1.1896) 1; 60 (11.1.1896) 2-3; 61 (18.1.1896) 2-3; 64 (8.2.1896) 1; 65 (15.2.1896) 1; 66 (22.2.1896) 1-2; 67 (29.2.1896) 1-2; 68 (7.3.1896) 2; 69 (14.3.1896) 1-2; 70 (21.3.1896) 1-2; 82 (13.6.1896) 2; 83 (20.6.1896) 3-4.

"Ποιμαντικά 'Ομιλίαι: Περί ἱεροπρεπείας," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 65 (15.2.1896) 2-3; 66 (22.2.1896) 3-4; 68 (7.3.1896) 3-4.

"Ποιμαντικά 'Ομιλίαι: 'Ο ἱερεύς ἐν τῇ ἐκπληρώσει τῶν ἐαυτοῦ καθηκόντων ἐν τῇ κονωνίᾳ," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 69 (14.3.1896) 2-3.

"Περί τῆς ἐλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας ως παιδαγωγοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρός τὸν Χριστιανισμόν," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 82 (20.6.1896) 1; 83 (27.6.1896) 3.

"Μελέτη περί τῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 2 (9.1.1897) 13-14; 3 (16.1.1897) 19-20.

"Λόγος ἐκφωνηθείς εἰς τάς ἐξετάσεις ἐν τῇ Ριζαρείω Σχολῇ τῇ 16 'Ιουνίου 1897," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος (Athens)* 20 (19.6.1897) 156-157.

"Η φωτεινότης τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως," *'Ανάπλασις (Athens)* 11 (18.1.1898) 18-19.

"Η Θρησκεία," *'Ανάπλασις (Athens)* 11 (16.5.1898) 155-156.

"Περί τῆς θριαμβευτικῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τοῦ Μυστικοῦ λόγου αὐτῆς," *'Ημερολόγιον τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ ἔτους 1899 ἐκ τῆς συνεργασίας Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Λογίων (Athens)* (1899) 80-84.

"Οτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπλάσθη ὥπως γνωρίσῃ καὶ δοξάσῃ τὸν Θεόν," *'Ημερολόγιον τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ ἔτους 1899 ἐκ τῆς συνεργασίας Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Λογίων (Athens)* (1899) 155-157.

"Προθεωρία περί τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Φιλοσοφίας ως προπαιδείας εἰς τὸν Χριστιανισμόν," *Kόσμος (Alexandria)* (27. 9. 1900) 259.

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"Περί τοῦ Μεσαίωνος καὶ τοῦ Βυζαντιακοῦ Ἐλληνισμοῦ," Ἐλληνισμός (Athens) 5 (Aug. 1902) 467-479; 5 (Oct. 1902) 594-607; 5 (Nov. 1902) 665-668;

Reprinted "Αγίου Νεκταρίου (Κεφαλᾶ) Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως Περί Μεσαίωνος," Ἀνάπλασις (Athens) 341 (March-April 1992) 58-59;

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"Περί τοῦ τίς ἡ ἀληθής ἐρμηνεία περί τῆς ρήσεως τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου "Ἡ δέ γυνή ἵνα φοβήται τὸν ἄνδρα," Ἀνάπλασις (Athens) (1902) 1621-1622.

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"Περί τῆς ἀνατροφῆς τῶν ἑφήβων (Πρός τούς ἑφήβους)," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) (1903) 42-43, 51-52, 58-59, 66-67.

"Περί βλασφημίας," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) (1903) 49-50.

"Περί τοῦ Ἀποκαλυφθέντος Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ Διαθήκῃ ὑπό τοῦ ὄνομα Ἱεχωβᾶ," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) (1903) 138, 139, 147, 154, 162, 163, 172.

"Περί τῆς Θείας Ἀγάπης," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 12 (1904) 90.

"Περί τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐνεργείας τῆς εἰς Χριστόν πίστεως," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 13 (1904) 98.

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"Περί τῆς χαρᾶς τῆς ἐν Κυρίῳ," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 15 (1904) 113.

"Περί τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ Παναγίου Πνεύματος," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 16 (1904) 121.

"Περί φιλίας καί φίλου," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 17 (1904) 130.

"Περί ἡθικοῦ βίου καὶ ὅπι ὁ ἀνθρωπος φύσει ἡθικόν ὄν," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 19 (1904) 146-147.

"Περί τοῦ ἡθικοῦ ἦτοι κατά Χριστόν βίου," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 20 (1904) 154-155.

"Περί τῆς ὑποταγῆς εἰς τοὺς νόμους," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 21 (1904) 162.

"Περί ἐπιορκείας," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 22 (1904) 170.

"Εἰκὼν τῆς δικαιωσύνης," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 23 (1904) 178.

"Εἰκὼν ἀνδρός δικαίου," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 24 (1904) 186.

"Εἰκὼν τῆς ἀδίκίας," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 25 (1904) 194.

"Εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀδίκου," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 26 (1904) 202.

"Περί τοῦ θείου ἔρωτος," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 27 (1904) 210.

"Ἐξομολόγησις πιστοῦ," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 28 (1904) 218.

"Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ πιστεύοντος εἰς Χριστόν," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 29 (1904) 226.

"Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀπίστου," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 30 (1904) 234.

"Ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀπιστίας," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 31 (1904) 242.

"Εἰκὼν τοῦ γινώσκοντος τὸν Θεόν καὶ ποιούντος Αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 32 (1904) 250.

"Εἰκὼν τοῦ μὴ γινώσκοντος τὸν Θεόν καὶ ποιούντος τὸ ἐαυτοῦ θέλημα," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 33 (1904) 258.

"Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ εἰς Θεόν πλουτίσαντος," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 34 (1904) 266.

"Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ μὴ εἰς Θεόν πλουτίσαντος ἦτοι ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ ὑλιστοῦ," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 35 (1904) 274-275.

"Περί εὔσεβείας καὶ εἰκών τοῦ εὔσεβοῦς," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 36 (1904) 282.

"Περί ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀσεβοῦς," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 37 (1904) 290.

"Περί τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ διά τῆς πίστεως," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 38 (1904) 298.

"Ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ἐλπίδος," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 39 (1904) 306-307.

"Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ ἐλπίζοντος ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν," Ἀναμόρφωσις (Athens) 40 (1904) 314-315.

"Η εικών τῆς ἀπελπισίας," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 41 (1904) 323.
 "Εἰκών τῆς ἀπογνώσεως," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 42 (1904) 330.
 "Περὶ τοῦ ἡθικοῦ νόμου," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 43 (1904) 338.
 "Περίφοβου Θεοῦ," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 44 (1904) 346.
 "Περίταπεινοφροσύνης," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 45 (1904) 354.
 "Εἰκών τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀνδρός," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 46 (1904) 361.
 "Περίύπομονῆς," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 47 (1904) 370.
 "Περίπροσευχῆς," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 48 (1904) 378.
 "Σημειώσεις ἐπὶ ἑλαίου, θυμιάματος καὶ κηροῦ," *'Αναμόρφωσις* (Athens) 49 (1904) 386-387.
 "Τό γνῶθι σαύτόν," *Ξενοφάνης* (Athens) 2 (Aug. 1905) 311-318.
 "Προσφώνησις πρός τούς ἀποφοίτους μαθητάς τῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς," *Ξενοφάνης* (Athens) 2 (Aug. 1905) 481-491.
 "'Εορτολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας," *'Ανάπλασις* (Athens) 403 (1905) 10-11.
 "Προσφώνησις πρός τούς ἀποφοίτους τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς," *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος* (Athens) 4 (1905) 7-8.
 "Περὶ ὄρκου," (Athens) 22 (1.4.1906) 5-6; 23 (1906) 8-9; 24 (1.5.1906) 6-7; 25 (15.5.1906) 7-8; 26 (1.6.1906) 7-9; 27 (15. 6. 1906) 8-9;
 Reprinted by Archim. T. Matthaiakis, (Athens, 1956); Reprinted by Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως Θεολογικά Μελέται* (Athens, 1990) 57-74.
 "Μελέτη περὶ Ἑκκλησίας," *'Ἐβδομηκονταπενταετηρίς τῆς Ριζαρείου Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Σχολῆς 1844-1919* (Athens: Πανηγυρικός Τόμος ἐκδοθείς ὑπό τοῦ Καθηγητικοῦ Συλλόγου τῆς Σχολῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐβδομηκονταπεντηρίδι αὐτῆς, 1920) 334-349.
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5) Published Treatises of Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis

Λόγοι Ἑκκλησιαστικοί (Athens, 1884).

Δέκα Λόγοι Ἑκκλησιαστικοί διά τὴν Μεγάλην Τεσσαρακοστήν. (Athens: Γ. Σταυριανοῦ, 1885). Cf., "Βιβλιοκρισία ,"*'Εκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* (Constantinople) 9 (September 15, 1885) 429.

Λόγος Ἑκκλησιαστικός ἐκφωνηθείς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἅγιου Νικολάου ἐν Καΐρῳ τῇ Α΄ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Τεσσαρακονθημέρου (Alexandria: Ὁμόνοια, 1886).

Λόγος περὶ ἔξομολογήσεως (Cairo: M. N. Νομικός, 1887).

Δύο Λόγοι Ἑκκλησιαστικοί. Λόγος Α΄ Εἰς τὴν Κυριακήν τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, ἦτοι περὶ πίστεως. Λόγος Β΄ Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Κόσμῳ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἦτοι περὶ θαυμάτων (Cairo: M. N. Νομικοῦ, 1887).

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Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Κόσμῳ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ (Alexandria: Βιτάλης & Λήμνιος, 1889); Reprinted (Kyme of Euboea, 1892); (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1973); (Athens: N. Παναγόπουλος, 1989); translated and published anonymously in Modern Greek (Piraeus, 1990).

Λόγος ἐκφωνηθείς ἐν τῷ Ἀχιλλοπούλειώ Παρθεναγωγείω κατά τὴν Ἔορτήν τῶν Τριῶν Ιεραρχῶν (Alexandria: Βιτάλης & Λήμνιος, 1889).

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Τά παρ' ἡμῖν τελούμενα Ιερά Μνημόσυνα (Athens: A. Κολλαράκη – N. Τριανταφύλλου, 1892). See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," *'Ανάπλασις* (Athens) 103 (1.8.1892) 1454-1455.

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'Υποτύπωσις περὶ ἀνθρώπου (Athens, 1893); Reprinted (Athens: "Αγιος Νικόδημος, 1978); (Piraeus, 1986).

Εὐγενίου Βουλγάρεως Σχεδίασμα περὶ ἀνεξιθρησκείας ἢτοι περὶ ἀνοχῆς τῶν ἔτεροθρήσκων. Ἐκδίδοται τὸ δεύτερον ύπό Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως (Alexandria: I. K. Λαγουδάκη, 1893; Reprinted by Archim. T. Matthaiakis (Athens, 1955); (Athens: "Αγιος Νικόδημος, 1983).

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Περὶ ἐπιμελείας ψυχῆς (Athens, 1894); Reprinted (Athens: 'Αποστολική Διακονία, 1973, 1975, 1986).

'Ομιλίαι περὶ τοῦ θείου χαρακτήρος καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅπι ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ (Athens: A. Καλαράκη – N. Τριανταφύλλου, 1895).

'Ιερῶν καὶ Φιλοσοφικῶν Λογίων Θησαύρισμα (Vol. 1, 2) (Athens: A. Καλλαράκη – N. Τριανταφύλλου, 1895, 1896). See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," *'Ανάπλασις* (Athens) 8 (10.10.1895) 120; 'Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος (Alexandria) 9 (1912) 66-67.

'Επικαί καὶ ἐλεγειακαί γνώμαι μικρῶν Ἐλλήνων ποιητῶν (Athens: A. Καλαράκη, 1896).

'Εγχειρίδιον Χριστιανικῆς Ἡθικῆς (Athens, 1897); Reprinted by Archim. T. Matthaiakis, *Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως Χριστιανική Ἡθική τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1955, 1965); Reprinted by Metr. T. Matthaiakis in *Νεκταρίου Κεφαλᾶ Μητροπολίτου Πενταπόλεως Θεολογικά Μελέται* (Athens, 1990) 75-229. See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," in Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)" (Athens, 1985) 102.

Μάθημα Ποιμαντικῆς (Athens, 1898); Reprinted (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1972); Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1974). See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," *'Ανάπλασις* (Athens) 37 (12.9.1898) 295; *'Ιερός Σύνδεσμος* (Athens) 4 (23.7.1898) 120.

'Ιερά Κατήχησις τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας (Athens: Σ. Κουσουλίνου, 1899); Reprinted (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1972, 1984). See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," in Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)" (Athens, 1985) 102-103.

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Μελέτη περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ περὶ ιερῶν μνημοσύνων (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1901); Reprinted (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1972, 1981); (Thessaloniki: B. Ρηγόπουλος, 1973); Translated in Modern Greek by D. Kakkisi - Georngatzi (Athens, 1981).

Εὐαγγελική Ιστορία δι' ἀρμονίας τῶν κειμένων τῶν Εὐαγγελιστῶν Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ καὶ Ἰωάννου (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1903); Reprinted (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1980). See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," *Ξενοφάνης* (Athens) 2 (Nov. 1904) 90-91; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, 'Ο "Άγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846-1920)" (Athens, 1985) 104.

Τό γνώθι Σαύτον ἢτοι μελέται θρησκευτικά καὶ ἡθικά εἰκονίζουσαι τόν θρησκευτικόν καὶ ἡθικόν χαρακτήρα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἴνδαλματίζουσαι (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1904); Reprinted (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος,

1973); (Thessaloniki: Νέα Στοιχειοθετική, 1992). See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," Ξενοφάνης (Athens) 2 (1905) 311.

Μελέτη περί τῆς μητρός τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ Ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας (Athens, 1904). Reprinted (Athens: "Αγ. Νικόδημος, 1972); (Athens: N. Παναγόπουλος 1985); (Thessaloniki: Νέα Στοιχειοθετική, 1985).

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Προσευχητάριον Κατανυκτικόν (Athens, 1904, 1913); Reprinted (Thessaloniki: Τό Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1993).

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Μοναχοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ ἐκ Γαλατίας Πανδέκτης τῶν Θεοπνεύστων Ἅγιων Γραφῶν καὶ περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ ἔξομολογήσεως (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1906); Reprinted (Thessaloniki: 'Ορθόδοξος Κυψέλη, 1991).

Ιερατικόν Ἑγκόλπιον ἡτοι Α' Περί Ιερωσύνης, Β' Περί τοῦ πρωτείου ἐν τῇ Ιεραρχίᾳ, Γ' Περί τῆς ισότητος ἐν τῇ Ιεραρχίᾳ (Athens: Π. Λεώνη, 1907). See also, "Βιβλιοκρισία," *'Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* (Alexandria) 2 (1908) 600; Metr. T. Matthaiakis, *'Ο Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Κεφαλᾶς Μητροπολίτης Πενταπόλεως (1846–1920)* (Athens, 1985) 108-109.

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6) Unpublished Treatises of Saint Nectarios of Pentapolis

Χριστολογία

'Εγκυκλοπαιδεία τῆς Φιλοσοφίας

'Εορτολόγιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Εκκλησίας

'Ερμηνεία τῶν Πραξέων τῶν Ἀποστόλων

'Ιερά Λειτουργική

'Ιστορίας Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς Μυστική Θεωρία

Κεφάλαια πέντε περί τῶν Λειτουργικῶν βιβλίων

Μελέτη περί τῶν ἀγίων λειψάνων

Νέον Πασχάλιον αἰώνιον

Νέον Τριαδικόν

Περί κηροῦ μελίσσης καὶ ἑλαίου ὡς προσφορᾶς καὶ περί θυμιάματος.

Περί τῆς ἀφιερώσεως τῷ Θεῷ ὄσιων παρθένων καὶ περί μονῶν καὶ μοναχικοῦ βίου

Περί τῆς ἐν πνεύματι λατρείας

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'Αρχεῖον Καθηγητοῦ Εὐγενίου Μιχαηλίδου Πνευματικοῦ Παροικιακοῦ Μουσείου Ἀλεξανδρείας (Archives of Genal Consulate of Greece in Alexandria).

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7) Other Primary Sources

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